REPORT RESUMES

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXTENSION ASSOCIATION, DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, NEW DIMENSIONS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (51ST, ALBUQUERQUE, JULY 22-27, 1966).

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CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS ON THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OUTLINED PRINCIPAL ISSUES AND CURRENT PROJECTS OF THE DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXTENSION ASSOCIATION. ADULT EDUCATION WAS DISCUSSED, AS RELATED TO IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS UNDER TITLE 1 OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965. A UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PLAN FOR COMPREHENSIVE INTERDISCIPLINARY URBAN EXTENSION WORK IN TULSA WAS DESCRIBED, AS WAS A MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY PROGRAM DESIGN FOR UNIVERSITY INVOLVEMENT IN SOLVING HUMAN RELATIONS PROBLEMS ON THE COMMUNITY LEVEL, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES OF WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY THROUGH THE APPALACHIAN CENTER, AND SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY AND UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY STAFF. SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PROSPECTS AND DIRECTIONS OF UNIVERSITY-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS WERE INCLUDED. (LY)

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New Dimensions in Community Development

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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NEW DIMENSIONS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of the Division of Community Development,
Fifty-first Annual Meeting
National University Extension Association

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FOREWORD

The modern university, described so aptly by President James A. Perkins of Cornell in his recent book The University in Transition, exemplifies the spirit of our changing times--a creative force with the interest of society at its bosom.

The Division of Community Development of the National University Extension Association is an integral part of this creative force. Its membership represents a significant body of academic excellence geared to the development and improvement of community life. The papers and discussion of the Division of Community Development contained in this Proceedings are evidence of universities' continuing efforts to serve the American public.

The 1966 NUEA Conference was held in Albuquerque, New Mexico July 22-27.

Robert Senecal and Harry Smith of the Institute staff prepared these papers for publication.

Dean Zenor, Director
Inscitute of Public Affairs

December 1966

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The Future of the Division of Community Development

A Rationale for the Session

Robert C. Child*

Community Development is a field unevenly designed and equivocally defined which commands differing degrees of loyalty and varying depths of commitment. Community development at this stage in its growth is a practice in search of a reference group.

The National University Extension Association and its Division of Community Development, and to a lesser degree the Adult Education Association and its Community Development Section, have provided forums for the discussion of problems and issues facing the field of Community Development. Various journals and occasional publications as well as programs organized by the myriad of community development departments and services in colleges and universities have contributed further to the proliferation of definitions of this field of practice. Recently a national association for community development has been organized. This group is particularly concerned with the problems of development under community action program organizations supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity. All of these agencies, institutions, and organizations have contributed to the growth of the field and perhaps, paradoxically, to its lack of direction.

There remains, however, an apparent uneasiness. Part of this uneasiness is caused by the comings and goings of community developers as they are fed into the field under pressure for the development of new programs emphasizing community development techniques. They gradually but ultimately retire to the disciplines in the social science areas which originally spawned them or go on to higher administrative positions, and thus contribute little to continuity.

Another part of the uneasiness is brought about as a result of observing newly organized national efforts attempting to relate resources to human beings in a process stage similar to that in which community developers found themselves in the late 1940's. A concern is held for what appears to be the wasted effort of these groups in rediscovering paths and roads to goals which have been trod before, and about which a great deal of information exists in scattered storage houses.

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*Assistant Director, Community Development Service, Southern Illinois University

Additional uneasiness is supplied by the evident cooptation of community development principles to the end of bringing about particular and specifically designed programs in fields such as planning, urban renewal, and economic development.

A further specific area of concern is related to graduate training in community development. A number of universities and colleges offer programs leading to graduate degrees in the field, but there is no common agreement as to basic elements which might be included in the curricula of such programs. Another major area of consideration is the financing of graduate programs through assistantship and fellowship awards, and specific efforts are under way in order to create resources for such awards.

Yet another area of concern is that associated with community development as a community-field practice in colleges and universities in this country. Many colleges and universities claim participation in community development in their local areas as well as outside those boundaries. This participation is sometimes very great but more often very limited and occasionally exists in its greatest degree in the public relations material distributed by those colleges and universities.

These, then, are some of the issues which are faced at this time by the field of community development, and these are the concerns which will be addressed this afternoon, areas in which the Division has become involved as well as those which require further considerations:

The Future and Direction of the National Community Development Seminar
The Committee on Cooperative Program Design
Involvements in the Formation of a Professional Association
Considerations in the Organization of a Clearinghouse
Education for Community Development in Universities

The basic consideration is that connected with the question--how can the National University Extension Association through its Division of Community Development exercise the kind of leadership which will bring direct effort to bear on meeting these issues. Can the Division of Community Development fulfill this role? Is the commitment in the current crop of community developers strong enough to face the issues and to do the work which must be done if the questions are to be answered? If the Division cannot do these things, might it not be well for it to look toward the establishment of a truly representive national organization in community development and throw its support behind the creation of such a medium?

If the task will be done someone must do it. Our question this afternoon is concerned with who will do that job, and how.

In summary then, can the Division supply leadership in:

1. developing a definition of the field of practice;
2. providing a common ground for the training of community developers;
3. disseminating information on programming, research, and other pertinent happenings;
4. providing guidelines for effective graduate training programs;
5. finding resources for the financial support of graduate students;

6. spreading and strengthening community development programs in colleges and universities;
7. the establishment of a network of community development specialists who would on contract transmit the knowledge and skills of community development; and
8. deciding what part of the job the Division can do and, should it not be able to accomplish all, encourage the organization of a national group to handle some or all of the issues involved.

These needs are apparent, the pressure real. It is my belief that the task is possible of accomplishment. I also believe that the NUEA's Division of Community Development is currently the organization best equipped to focus on the task and, perhaps, to accomplish that task. If we cannot, let us decide that we cannot. If we decide we can, then let us proceed.

The Committee on Cooperative Program Design

George A. Tapper*

At the 1965 meeting of NUEA at Purdue University, Robert Child, Chairman of the Community Development Division - NUEA, appointed a Committee on Cooperative Program Design. The initial meeting of the Committee was held on the Purdue campus on the last day of the NUEA meeting. Membership included George Tapper (chairman), Jerry Knight, Al Levak, Richard Franklin, Robert Child, John Dunbar and others.

Impetus for the formation of the committee came from Jerry Knight, University of Chicago, who had drafted a plan to develop a consortium of universities for community action training in Region II, Office of Economic Opportunity. Region II is the Great Lakes Region with headquarters in Chicago.

The committee was charged with the responsibility for investigating the potential for cooperative program design among NUEA member institutions interested in community development training and service.

Results - Project I

Jerry Knight continued his leadership in forming a consortium of universities. To promote joint thinking on the matter, he chaired a "think session" at Rutgers - The State University in July, 1965 at the end of the Fourth National Community Development Seminar. An edited version of the tape of this one day discussion has been published under the title Community

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*Director, Bureau of Community Services, Rutgers-The State University (New Jersey)

Development Theory and the War on Poverty. In August, 1965 he chaired a one-day meeting of universities in the Great Lakes area that had an interest in his specific proposal to establish joint community action training in Region II. This proposal eventually reached the stage at which each university involved stated what it thought it could do in the way of training.

At this point, Jerry Knight's duties at Chicago University prevented him from devoting more time to the project and responsibility for its further development was accepted by John Hawley of Southern Illinois University. Shortly thereafter, Hawley called the Committee Chairman to inform him that SIU had been named a Multi-Purpose Training Center for community action training by OEO. This made the Knight proposal no longer viable, because the job he hoped to do was being officially assigned to the Multi-Purpose Training Centers at universities located in Region II.

Discussion Points

In the light of the formation of Multi-Purpose Training Centers for community action, should this Committee continue to be active? Should the Executive Secretary of NUEA be asked to meet with the Community Development Division to develop a proposal for a national NUEA contract for community action training similar to those negotiated for Headstart or Adult Basic Education?

Results - Project II

This project never passed the conception stage, but its potential merits consideration of its broad outlines. In the late spring of 1965, Jack Mezirow of the University of California suggested that the Community Development Division of NUEA accept responsibility for training community action organizations' staff in a given state (in this case New Jersey). Those involved in instruction would turn their presentations into a book to be sponsored by the Community Development Division and published by OEO as a guide to all new community action personnel.

The proposal had some support in Washington and approval of the Director of the New Jersey OEO. It never came to pass because the Division could not produce the manpower to develop and push the proposal, and because a Community Action Training Institute was established, by OEO, in New Jersey.

Discussion Points

Can the Division mount a project such as this? Is there a need for such a project at this time?

Professional Priorities in Community Development

Jack D. Mezirow*

The National University Extension Association first recorded its interest in community development thirty-eight years ago. I would like to briefly review the highlights as this history relates to the question of new directions.

The 1940's and early 50's were active and experimental years for community development under the leadership of Howard McClusky, the Ogdens, Eugene Johnson, John Herring, Harold Bentley, Richard Poston, Curtis Mial, Otto Hoiberg and others. These were the men who made a place for community development in adult education and university extension, often against great institutional resistance and always against the "respectable" mainstream of the profession.

There has always been a healthy marginality about community developers; the very definition of their task precludes their achieving respectability in some well established academic specialization. Taking education into the agora, the early Greek experience notwithstanding, has not been a popular idea, even among university adult educators for whom rewards of the academy are found in loyal obeisance to institutional "standards" too perishable to take off campus. For many of the pioneers of community development, the NUEA provided a kind of country store meeting place where the few who were involved in this work came together to exchange information and gain mutual support. Almost every person involved had personal knowledge of the current and common experience of university community development around the country. There were perhaps a dozen different institutions involved in community development at any one time and the professionals running these programs were old friends.

Not many of the programs undertaken during this period were firmly institutionalized continuing efforts. In these years the common pattern was epitomized by Eugene Johnson's experience in San Bernardino, California--a highly creative and successful program which generated national interest and lasted until its grant ran out. Failure to find a continuing institutional base for exciting demonstrations and pilot projects was endemic to community development in this period.

In the 1950's and early 60's the international movement in community development far eclipsed earlier domestic experience. In the 50's alone, the United States put $50 million into community development in the newly developing countries with hundreds of Americans sent abroad as advisors. Thirty countries followed India's lead and developed programs. Some were huge operations. Pakistan, for example, invested $30 million in its Village AID. India's program was staffed with 50,000 paid workers in its eighth year.

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*Associate Dean - Statewide Programs, University of California Extension

There was a curious discontinuity in professional experience between the over two decades of work by U.S. pioneers and this country's overseas involvement. By and large, the people who went overseas as community development "experts" came from backgrounds in agricultural extension, rural sociology, home economics and vocational education. With only a handful of exceptions, community development as understood by McClusky, Johnson, Bentley, et al.--and by quite a few of the host country officials whom they were sent to advise--was for them a concept and program to be newly discovered. Many of the identical lessons already learned were learned all over again in other countries. The international community development movement has undoubtedly involved a dozen universities or more in training programs sponsored by the Agency for International Development and predecessor agencies. There is very little evidence that the American domestic experience which had unquestionable relevance was influential in this effort.

Then the Peace Corps came along, refused to acknowledge any precedent experience as relevant, and invented the wheel over again for the third time. Not only has it by and large rejected the most relevant U.S. foreign and domestic community development experience but even fails to provide for systematically building on its own rather substantial experience. Currently the Peace Corps has twelve universities under contract to train volunteers in community development. It is probably safe to say that the faculty "experts" in community development and the universities themselves have been selected only incidentally for their earlier U.S. or AID-related experience in this field.

In 1964 the United States launched its own mammoth national community development program through the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Community Action Program is far and away the most exciting challenge in the history of community development in this country. It has been launched and is being operated by a whole new group of professionals--not the early NUEA pioneers, not the AID pioneers, not the Peace Corps pioneers but a dynamic, politically experienced, action-oriented array of new people--maverick social workers, educators, labor leaders, lawyers, public administrators, sociologists and others, with a healthy representation from the civil rights movement. All these new community developers have moved to center stage, and I know of no NUEA-AID-Peace Corps pioneers who have been the least hesitant about cheering them on--even though some of us are sorry we have not been able to share our hard-won experiences to help them.

Some time ago while working in AID, I had gained an audience with a high official of OEO to suggest the possibility of a national conference on community development to tap the diverse and rich experiences of the last few decades. I was summarily brushed off with the familiar response that it was not talk but action which was required, and I was told that such a conference was unnecessary anyway inasmuch as OEO was the national community development program and had already recruited all the most highly qualified community developers. An internal staff meeting was about all that was necessary to pool relevant experience.

John Hawley, who had just joined Southern Illinois University, and I attended a meeting a few months ago in Washington--the first annual conference of the National Association for Community Development. This is a vigorous new organization by and for local organizations and individuals involved in Community Action Programs. It did not bother me too much to learn that no other universities were represented at this national meeting or that none of the NUEA-AID-PC community development pioneers seemed to be included in its list of members. I had not expected to find them there.

As I heard one speaker after another describe the problems of the CAP program, I began to feel older. I remember wondering to myself whether every social innovation went through this same repetitive process of rediscovery. All of the same issues with which AID community developers had been coping for over a decade were being identified anew--the relationship of community development to economic planning and resource allocation, resolution of agency targets and local initiative in programming, the tired myth of agency coordination, bureaucratic reaction to the establishment of new agencies, reaction of the professionals excluded from direct involvement, the problem and consequences of striving too fast for national program coverage, difficulties in involving the poor, effect of politics, etc., etc. I was particularly discomfited by the section of the conference devoted to training for community development. Here there was not the slightest suggestion that the rich experience of years of highly relevant effort by American adult education and university extension had any relationship to the problems these people manning this country's national community development were facing. There had been literally no learning from past experience which includes not only theory but the total accumulated knowledge included in the NUEA as well as the Adult Education Association. This, in my mind, represents a disaster. If intelligence is the capacity to learn from experience, I have seen little evidence of it. The problem is as much ours as adult educators as it is theirs--the men and women on the firing line. We have failed miserably to educate or to establish ourselves as qualified educators. The CAP program is currently initiating training contracts with American universities. One would have to be very sanguine to expect that the past will serve as more than a mute prologue.

If you feel I exaggerate, let me point to a development even closer to home, if that is possible; Title I of the Higher Education Act. Here is the millennium for university community developers--the reality of continuing federal funds with a minimum of program restriction or dictated directions. What have we done with it? Have those of us who consider ourselves community development specialists taken full advantage of the long awaited opportunity to institutionalize community development in university extension? We have not. We have largely opted in favor of hastily concocting a series of unrelated and ephemeral projects without provision for institutional and staff continuity clearly possible under present Office of Education regulations. Instead of programming for a staff of community development specialists to be funded annually under the Act and whose program activity would change with changing community need, following Agricultural Extension precedent, we have permitted our states to interpret this legislation on solely a project-by-project basis thereby perverting the historic significance which this new law might have had for university community development. I have heard nothing in NUEA councils which suggests this professional malfeasance on our part may be redressed in the forseeable future. I don't see evidence that university community developers have even availed themselves of their own experience.

In view of this history I have little patience with talk in NUEA of professionalizing community development. NUEA is simply not up to a job of that size. I would like to see us function as professionals ourselves first. We are university adult educators concerned with community development. Consequently, I would like to see the Community Development Division of the NUEA focus its concern very sharply on community development training and the educational process that it implies. This should be our continuing program emphasis. We should be concerned with such concerns as research, administration, program evaluating, philosophy and undergraduate and graduate instruction in community development only as these pertain to training in community development through university extension. I disagree with Bob Child's delineation of the scope of what the Division can do in the field of community development. We are professional educators. We already have our own standards of entry, our own credentials system, our own set of cliches. Let me forego the illusionary temptation to get sidetracked into "building a new profession." We should instead set about functioning more effectively in what we are doing as extension educators in community development, viz, training. We have not clearly established our role and unique contribution in a way that agencies concerned with community development will look to NUEA for leadership. If we cannot do this in the field of training in which we are most qualified, we are really in trouble.

As the national professional organization concerned with training for community development, NUEA is at an unprecedented period in its history. Not only are AID, Peace Corps, Community Action Programs and Title I asking for help, but a broad spectrum of other federal agencies have in the last few years come to see themselves playing a community development role--Area Redevelopment Administration, IMH, Department of Agriculture, Indian Bureau and Housing and Urban Development to name a few. One fears that each and every one will again invent the wheel. Our opportunity for leadership is unmistakable. NUEA should assert this leadership by locating a community development training representative in its Washington Office to serve as a liaison person and program development specialist between interested Washington agencies and the Universities.

I would like to see NUEA develop some "associate memberships" which would make it possible for us to learn from and ally ourselves with such prominent non-university community development trainers as Barry Passett of New Jersey and Frank Logue of Connecticut. They would be invaluable resources in building a national training organization in community development.

We need very badly to establish a journal on community development training. A section of the NUEA's Spectator is totally inadequate to the need and opportunity. The need for this should be patently clear from the recent history which I have sketched above.

Meetings of the Community Development Division and collateral professional meetings generated by it should be devoted to training rather than the tired and banal questions of theory about "process vs. content" and what is a "felt need approach." Let's direct our creative efforts at analyzing and formulating effective training curricula, courses and workshops and methods most appropriate for helping people acquire the specific skills. attitudes, concepts and organizational arrangements necessary to their effective participation in the democratic solution of community problems of as wide a variety as possible at their present level of competence. Such a task leaves little room for cant, cliche and dogmatism.

A great need is for a clearinghouse and a program for the coordinated production of training materials. The need for training materials is national and urgent, and the funds are available for their production. Can we just once avoid inventing the wheel over again? I would like to see NUEA take assertive leadership in this critically important area.

The NUEA should also provide an employment placement service for community development with emphasis on training. This is an important function of any effective professional organization and is currently not being filled by anyone. I also feel that a system of recognition should be given by NUEA to persons working in this field. Such professional recognition should enhance the field of community development training. If we are indeed all marginal men, we should draw from each other's strength.

I feel that it is now or never for the Community Development Division of the NUEA. Unless we as an organization can rise to the opportunities of this historic moment in university community development, I am convinced we will have forfeited any possible future claim to leadership.

The Organization of a Clearinghouse

Otto G. Hoiberg*

It is no mere coincidence that the organization of a clearinghouse is being discussed today in connection with the future of the Division of Community Development. It is a natural outgrowth of two facts.

First, a new discipline labeled "community development" is in process of formation. Twenty years ago only a few pioneering ventures were underway in NUEA institutions, with apparently no attention given to the subject area on any annual convention program until the early 1940's. During the intervening years, however, a tremendous upsurge of interest and activity has occurred; the Division of Community Development was created in 1955; and several institutions now offer graduate training leading to advanced degrees in community development. There is every reason to believe that this two-pronged trend will continue, with substantial growth to be anticipated on both the extension and academic fronts.

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Second, the variety of professional persons identified with the emerging discipline is really quite remarkable. Their common concern is community development, to be sure, but they come from many diverse backgrounds, and their professional ties are widely scattered: general extension; agricultural extension; departments of sociology, geography, social work, and economics; public and private utility companies; church denominations; private consultant firms; state governmental agencies of numerous kinds; and so on.

As the new discipline develops there is a growing and understandable need for communication among the professional persons involved. Where numbers are few, such communication can be satisfactorily carried on through personal correspondence channels, but this day has now passed in our field of endeavor.

Our discipline has not yet developed to a point where an all-inclusive professional organization has evolved. When this day comes, the problem will be greatly simplified, because all who are actively interested will then be under one organizational tent in addition, of course, to retaining other professional ties relevant to their respective situations. In the meantime, we must find a way to get through to each other regardless of diversity.

If the problem were merely to establish a central clearinghouse for publications, job opportunities and vacancies among the community development agencies of NUEA member institutions, this could be solved by adding a page or two to our periodic Community Development Newsletter. But we must think in broader terms. In Nebraska, to illustrate, I work hand-in-glove on community development programs with a number of kindred souls from non-university settings who have never heard of NUEA and have no access to the NUEA/CD Division Newsletter. How can these people be brought into a network of communication for intellectual cross-fertilization and exchange of helpful information?

Ultimately consideration may well be given to sophisticated models such as (a) the clearinghouse for Sociological Literature, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee or (b) the clearinghouse for materials concerning "urban school personnel" established by the Division of Teacher Education of the City University of New York in cooperation with the American Association of Creditation in Teacher Education, which is to become a unit of the U.S. Office of Education's Educational Research Information Center (ERIC).

For the present, however, the simple yet effective pattern employed by the American Country Life Association through its Subcommittee on Sharing of Materials should be examined for possible adaptation to meet our needs. According to ACLA procedure a mimeographed "List of Materials Available" is published at intervals, giving the following information about each publication cleared for listing by the Subcommittee:

1. Title and author.

2. A 1-3 line description of content.
3. Availability, as to source and cost.

This type of bulletin could be published at very low cost for the whole broad area of community development by the CD Division of NUEA. It would be a genuine service to the profession.

Education for Community Development in Universities

Hugh Denney*

In commenting upon this subject, I believe it is important to establish the frame of reference from which the speaker derives his opinions. Since 1958, I have been engaged as a state-wide project leader for Community Development Extension with the University of Missouri. This program currently involves a central staff of five professionals and a field staff of sixteen and will be enlarged to twenty-two by January 1, 1967. Since the fall of 1962, I have also served as Instructor in Community & Area Planning as a part of the two-year Master's Degree program offered at the University of Missouri. I am currently serving as Chairman of the Department of Regional and Community Affairs through which the Master's Degree is offered.

In reviewing the approaches that have been made in universities in this country to the training of community development personnel, it appears that there have been two major fields of emphasis.

1. Some institutions have emphasized the sociological-anthropological approach with emphasis upon endowing the individual with an understanding of the culture and human behavior patterns in communities.
2. Some institutions have largely ignored the culture and human behavior characteristics of the community and emphasized the physical resource potential of the area.

It appears to me that the combination of the two is vitally needed.

Throughout the history of higher education we have fragmented our educational process into many disciplines and maximized the importance of the discipline. I suggest that what is most needed at this time is the well-trained generalist who has a depth of understanding of the culture of the community in which he works and at the same time a full understanding of the behavioral sciences so that we can put all the disciplines back together in community functions. While the individual disciplines are necessary, the community development agent cannot function without a general understanding of the interlocking economic and social system and the governmental policies and programs available to communities.

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*Chairman, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, University of Missouri

One of the problems in training American community development workers appears to be the commitment to the concept of self-help in communities or "operation bootstrap" as it is more popularly known. I suggest to you that in America there is need for a commitment of total effort utilizing the best of the grass roots philosophy combined with state and federal and voluntary association programs. It appears further then that a community development agent to operate in such a conceptual framework should have these qualities:

1. He must be a warm human being interested in working with people in an emphathetic relationship.

2. He should have a good undergraduate base in social sciences and hopefully some exposure to economic geography, the sociology of communities, applied anthropology, etc.

3. When he enters upon graduate study in community development, he must be exposed to in-depth courses in:

   (a) Theory and principles of Community Development
   (b) Interpersonal relationships
   (c) Small group dynamics
   (d) Mass communication
   (e) Economic base analysis of communities
   (f) Local government
   (g) Techniques of social investigation
   (h) Action research
   (i) Social policy and institutional resources
   (j) Principles of community, regional and area planning

4. Supplementing these courses there appears to be a need for a field placement of an agent-in-training for the equivalent of a semester of work. This field placement should be under the direct supervision of an experienced community development field worker supplemented by frequent visits by a field instructor from the department of the university giving the degree. It is possible that during this field placement period, the student can be expected to secure basic information for a community research project to be completed upon return to the campus.

5. During the last semester before graduation the use of graduate credit seminars in which faculty and students interact to discuss their field experiences and share insights is considered to be one of the most important parts of the graduate program.

The program at the University of Missouri requires two full years and sixty hours of college credit for a Master's Degree. I believe that this period could be shortened to perhaps twelve months on campus, plus the field placement experience which should be a minimum of five months.

With the increased interest in community development programs in universities, the demand for a doctoral program to train teachers is becoming obvious. Unfortunately, the pioneers in offering a doctoral program will be unable to assemble a staff with the broad interdisciplinary background necessary to integrate the multi-discipline courses into a well-knit composite curriculum. In view of this, every effort should be made to bring together personnel from relevant disciplines and require staff interaction to create a unified program of work.

I would sound a note of caution to those contemplating programs in this field not to put complete dependence upon the power structure approach to work in communities. It has been our experience that change occurs not from identifying and working with power structures but by the planned alteration of the power structure using the techniques of community self-studies and creating opportunities for latent leadership outside the power structure to become a part of the community organization and operating force.

There are those who would advocate the revolutionary approach to overthrow the power structure--I recommend the evolutionary approach. The job of a trained community development worker is not to destroy existing leadership in communities, but to make it comfortable for this leadership to accept new members from factions and minorities hitherto not represented in community decision-making process.

Chairman Childs, in his opening remarks to this group, made the comment that we should decide whether "we, or some other group should perform community development training and/or operating functions." I suggest it is the university's job to do the training of professional community development workers and it may or may not be the function of such institutions to carry on at the same time operational field programs.

The operational community development agent must at all times show major allegiance to the area to which he is assigned and cannot be the handmaiden of political parties or business or special interest. We have found in Missouri that the state university can more nearly represent the total views of society with equal regard to the views of business, labor and consumers, and all political parties as well as minority and ethnic groups than any other public agency available. We have, however, found it possible to cooperate with community programs of public utilities, federated women's organizations, chambers of commerce and other state and federal agencies to the end that cooperative programs have evolved with all of these groups. If a program by some other agency appears to have a narrow or biased interest to which the University cannot subscribe, we abstain from participating, but we do not exert any resistance to that agency's operation.

A Philosophy of Adult Education and Its Relation to the Implementation of Community Development Proposals under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965

Jules Pagano*

This report is concerned with recent developments in the federal government and the public servant's role in education with respect to Title I of the Higher Education Act. I would like to discuss with you the involvement of the federal government with adult education under Title I, known as Community Services and Continuing Education, and some of the details of the legislation as it affects community development.

Let us first review the philosophy of adult education as seen in Washington--specifically by the White House or by the Bureau of the Budget. Both BOB and the White House look at adult education as an activity, that is, an active, on-going process. We, in Washington, have found a new role for this activity to play in the federal government. We are attempting to change the societal definition to meet our needs.

During 1965 and 1966 the world had viewed our society as a technological one, a complex society where the rate of change is almost immeasurable, it happens so fast. It is almost beyond one's ability to record or assimilate. Realization of this fact leads one to believe that education is no longer a preparation for life, but obviously a part of life--in fact, life itself.

The educational process must continue throughout the lifetime of a man or woman. It must be central to change, to effectiveness, to mobility, and to the needs of our society. It is a mechanism which allows society to express itself, integrate as well as interrelate with all of our values.

Through Title I, education and its new role in society have found national focus which places a tremendous responsibility upon our government.

Historically, education has been the responsibility of local government. State, county, citizens were involved in producing our educational system. The adult education tradition in this country stems from the public source and has been the responsibile agent for producing major progress in our social conciousness. Adult education has played a vital part in this country's social development, perhaps more so than any other movement.

In the 1920's and even earlier, in the post-war World War I period, progressive movements of the times were expressed, discussed, and debated with fervor at Chataquas and at local lyceums. These "medicine shows" were exhibitions of popular adult education. In the "20's" the issues of the day were the economic and social needs--moving the nation out of its economic slump and raising standards of living. Those issues, in the 1930's became the New Deal, originating in adult education and culminating in federal legislation.

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Today our terminology is very technical. Even in education--we talk about systems and processes, methodology and cognitive learning. In the "30's" it was possible for the federal government to move in and solve a problem simply by saying what would be done. For example, the government could make jobs available in a community--build bridges, rake leaves, fix roads. The solution was "to do something."

Today, however, just doing is no longer a solution. Today we find solutions through community participation--through a process because people must be educated to participate. One must not merely do something. One must understand, interrelate, change, and accept change.

To the federal government, then, continuing education appears to be a way of meeting or solving the past failures of society. Which failures? We see immediately the dropout problem. Yet, the nation has never tackled that problem on a national scale. Instead you hear: "Isn't it too bad that the educational system in Mississippi isn't as good as the one in New York?" Or, "Isn't it sad that the Oklahoma system is not as good as Texas?"

We had never officially recognized the national disgrace of 23 million functionally illiterate adult Americans--11 million of whom are below the sixth grade level. The federal government has just begun to look for a way to build into the public school system its own self-correcting factor--an educational force which could solve two problems--juvenile delinquency and adult illiteracy.

We are now groping for answers to the problems concerning our cities. This is a critical national need and must have federal assistance. We have experienced disaster in metropolitan living and our citizens are hesitant about their future in the cities. The federal government is deeply concerned with how we can use what little resources that are available to help Americans live together, now and in the future.

What can adult education do here? The government sees adult education as the mechanism or process by which we can deal with our failures. We must face the failure of the public school system; the failure of big city government, deal with the rapidly-changing face of society, and establish a dialogue for the many individuals who make up this country. This is community development, to me.

The federal government views this charge not only in terms of education for education's sake, but as an immediate, action-oriented problem solving program. We, in government, view this process--the community development process--as the most effective use of our resources in contributing to human development.

To summarize briefly here--how one participates more effectively in his community and in our society is the important factor. And to these questions--how does one find solutions to immediate problems and how do we use all the resources at hand--we say that adult education is the force which must work for us to meet the many needs and help solve the many problems we face as a nation. These problems represent failure by our society to come to terms with the unpleasant and to resist change--adult education can supply us with the catalytic action.

Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is actually a small pilot project. It is an attempt by the government fo find out whether or not we can focus on the problems facing our society by using higher education--extension and continuing education, where we have some expertness, tradition, and history.

The legislation is very broad and general. Title I is funded through a State Plan program for community services. These educational community services programs attack community problems throughout a state using the resources of institutions of higher education as problem-solving instruments. It is a great responsibility for higher education to move in with its resources and to interact with communities on the many necessary levels. Educators must work with citizens in local communities to find solutions to community problems by helping these citizens to become more effective leaders, more effective participants in society, and more effective and responsible citizens.

The key to this legislation is that the responsibility for planning and development is not at the federal level. The federal government provides support and coordination, but the responsibility for planning and development is at the state level.

Governors of the states determine the sole agency to administer the plan. They may or may not, have or have not, designated how this program should be implemented in the several states. Some governors do not want it; some have decided it is an educational activity and have given their institutions of higher education the responsibility for administration and development; some have passed it over to non-educational commissions or boards. Forty-nine states and territories have had their plans approved. The development and administration of these plans is in the hands of a varied group of state organizations--and this is a new concept in adult education.

Since both the states and institutions of higher education now have the responsibility for developing statewide plans which relate to priority problems crucial within the states, the federal government's role is not to influence or direct, but to supplement, enlarge, and support the states' efforts in extension and continuing education. This is a very limited role, admittedly. Moreover, we have fifty-four different state plans and the federal government must be flexible enough to relate to fifty-four different commitments, understandings, and roles of mutual acceptance of risk.

Second, the federal government must augment and supply beyond its own committed funds and resources to permit each state a natural progression from the status quo. In addition, an atmosphere must be established which will promote in each state and in each educational institution a sense of security and a sense of sharing risks involved in the innovation and experimentation necessary for the program. This atmosphere which calls forth imaginative programming answers to a local community need, not a federal directive.

This idea is in a sense traditional, not revolutionary; it is perhaps a new way of discussing how citizens share in the development of creative federalism. Not all states, not even the federal government, are ready for federalism. Yet, we can learn together how to share that responsibility which Congress has given us--to answer this country's community needs.

Discussion

George Tapper*

In light of what is meant by adult education as a "process," what is your opinion of the projects proposed?

Mr. Pagano

The proposals received are fundamentally good. However, I am not content, because too many of these proposals are "safe." They are typical of proposals discussed in the past thirty years. We need more innovative projects in the areas where the problems are. For example, one state which has been allocated approximately $250,000 out of the total of $10 million for the entire Title I program, has one institution of higher learning with vast experience in community development and extension work. It also has several Negro colleges with no experience in community development or extension work. The state approved two strong proposals submitted by the Negro institutions dealing with civil rights (human relations). A total of $9,000 was allocated for them out of the quarter of a million. Then, the institution of higher education with the experience was allocated over $100,000 for continuing education in medical professions!

The ratio was wrong. This situation cannot continue if Title I is to be meaningful to all citizens, solve community problems, and help human beings who need help. What was done was absolutely legal, but I believe the proposals came from the wrong institutions. The federal government is zeroing in on states like this and hopes to reverse the situation. The federal-state relationship has to be an honest, candid discussion of priorities and of institutional resources as they truly relate to the problems that the institutions face.

Mr. Tapper

Was either institution oriented to "process," as you have used the word? Please give an example.

Mr. Pagano

The medical programs were best oriented to process. They had experience and understood the concern somewhat. They had related very well to the professional society of the institutions. The hospitals and individuals involved had used the extension workers to organize and lead the discussions in determining the plan and proposal, and also had involved resources of the institution effectively. All the hospitals were involved, and resources which were necessary and available were brought in. For instance, the law school was contacted to deal with problems of medical law. The program also included an evaluation by both the institution and the students so that the next stage would contain a more realistic program. Feedback is built in. To that degree we have process and development.

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The two Negro institutions' projects do relate to the community. They should relate more equitably to the resources available, and they should promote more discussions which can determine alternatives in opportunities and service. But, everything is presented as "will do." There is feedback built-in for the institutions and the state which is crucial because it allows for self-correction and new direction.

Clara Kanun*

What is considered not with process?

Mr. Pagano

Not with process is when an institution merely offers. The offer available to them is announced; solutions are assumed there. A number of institutions are simply arranging seminars. This is like discovering the world; there is no recognition of our history of knowledge and experience.

Another example of "non-process" is to assume that because facilities are available, participants will come. Actually, we must go out and search for participants in need of involvement and we must make some predetermination of goals and objectives before the proposal is developed and announced. We need more sharing with students, potential students, communities, and institutions in the responsibility for defining these goals and what methodology.

Mack Easton**

In some states, continuing education in the medical profession has been established for a long time. Also, the physician's income is the highest of any professional in the United States. How do the state and federal

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**Dean, Extension Division, University of Colorado government conceive post-graduate medicine as related to a program of community development?

Mr. Pagano

We have noted that the number two problem is health. Our reports show that many states are vitally concerned with health problems--therefore the emphasis on medical profession up-grading.

Mr. Easton

Yes, a health problem is present, but is it proved that post-graduate education in medicine will make the significant contribution to the solution of these problems? I do not believe the causes are the medical profession.

Mr. Pagano

That is a good point. However, this state in question described the need of the number of physicians and nurses as the problem faced. Then, they made a big jump to the assumption that more information, better information, and new professional skills for these people would help solve the problem.

Mr. Easton

In searching for approaches to similar problems, I hope for more courageous, comprehensive approaches.

Raphael J. Salmon*

Increasingly, we are realizing the importance of multi-dimension and the multi-complexity of variance in development. It is more important to understand the manner in which one variance relates to another than it is to realize the existence of the variance in the motive. We must look after the complementary effects and evaluate their effects. What assurance do we have that Title I recognizes not only different variances but also the evaluation and relationship between the variances so that we have effective time sequence effectiveness?

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Mr. Pagano

None.

Mr. Salmon

What can you suggest?

Mr. Pagano

I suggest the real answer is in forcing ourselves to view some unit as the basis of a dialogue in order to decide what ought to be the kind of development plan needed. I am not sure whether it is the state, county, or region; it certainly cannot be the federal government. The United States is underdeveloped; yet, it is the most developed country in the world and it does contain all dimensions of the comprehensive, technical society of the future. I suggest we consider this problem seriously at the state level, since it is the crucial political unit in our society. The role of the professional and the layman can meet very effectively at the state level. We should be as helpful as possible in setting the atmosphere for this to transpire, but the actual dialogue must take place between the peers--and the peers are at the state level.

Jack Ferver*

Since the federal government has decided not to have a federal plan, why must we have state plans? Why not pass it along to the institutions? I question the adequacy of state plans in doing justice to the institutions which eventually do the programming anyway.

Mr. Pagano

We can no longer afford the luxury of that kind of academic freedom. It would be just around the head of the problem--where we are right now.

Jack Mezirow**

It is important that we learn from each other what has been done well.

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What plans does your office have for a publication giving details about state projects and their evaluation?

Mr. Pagano

The first step we are considering in servicing the states and institutions of higher learning is to analyze, in detail, each state plan in terms of its comprehensiveness, coordination, coverage, and goals. We plan to make strong recommendations on improvements as an individual service to each state agency.

We have required this analysis to be brought to the attention of the state advisory council or agency. Action must be taken on the analysis (approved, rejected, reviewed, or amended) before we approve or accept the amendment for 1967. This forces a discussion on our comments.

The second step in servicing the states is sending a monthly newsletter. One has been sent already to the advisory councils. It contains highlights of programs, discussions on problem areas, etc.

The third step involves a series of memos describing new proposals reviewed or observed. This is done by our staff which includes a city planner, a community developer, an adult educator, a sociologist, a psychologist, a political scientist, and an economist. This "faculty" team looks at proceedings and interactions; it offers points of view and direction, not orders. And its reports will go to the states and the institutions of higher education.

Mr. Ferver

You can take existing problems or you can get into the development business. In the state agency, the administrator is using large amounts of money. I am uncertain whether our state agencies, or the federal government, have the vision or ability at this point to enable them to plan comprehensively and to coordinate.

Mr. Pagano

Does anyone else have this ability? We are in it very seriously, in fact. It is a fact of American life that we are not prepared as a nation to handle the problems or responsibilities. We do not have a conference, personnel, or knowledge--but we are learning by doing. In the federal government we are learning to budget, reallocate resources, and retrain ourselves constantly. A continuous education is recurring, and the whole country must go through it. If not, we may face a future of societal regression as other nations have experienced. All the real crises we face are indicators that we need to reemphasize, redirect, and redefine who we are, where we are going, and how to proceed. A part of Title I attempts this by utilizing techniques that have been successful such as continuing education or extension education. The tempo of contemporary life, the pressures and change, have forced us as a nation into community development. As a result, everyone concerned is trying to discover a way to exploit the resources available in the most meaningful way; to uncover and solve problems and to assist those citizens in need.

Mr. Ferver

Are you optomistic about the ability of the states and territories to succeed in this task?

Mr. Pagano

Yes.

Mr. Ferver

Then why should not the states be optomistic that the institutions of higher learning shall be able to do the job if they were granted the task, rather than the state's dictating to the institution how to do it?

Mr. Pagano

You are right. The dialogue between the federal government and the states should be repeated between the states and the institutions. The federal government should set, by example, an atmosphere allowing this dialogue to exist. We must work together in finding the solutions, defining problems, and discovering the best resources to implement. We need feedback from you, to be sure. Unless we develop some kind of peer relationship and act in good faith, community development will not be successful.

Claud A. Bosworth*

After many years of discussion, community development finally has come to the forefront. However, the federal government has offered only rather broad guidelines, and the Act does not seem to follow a pattern that we might have developed into community development. There is a sense of dedication among the ten state-supported institutions and other eligible institutions in our state, even with dealing with very few dollars compared to what money has been distributed. We have derived basic principles of community development. If community development is inevitable across the nation, we community service agents must become involved and offer our experience and abilities. In fact, we must become oversophisticated, especially in planning programs. We think of "process" as included in the five "P's" --Problems, Planning, People, Projects, and Process. We must help the public, as well as our professional selves, to simplify this process. I regret the fact that the federal government must set up these guidelines which we must depend upon so heavily. I believe the community development division should develop the guidelines and share this process with the universities and the public.

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Mr. Salmon

It is not enough to look at adult education in generalities. We must have the precise focus by which we can learn and benefit the most from the tools available, thereby avoiding the mistakes of the past. How can we protect ourselves and get to a new process?

Mr. Pagano

We should expect to take risks. Pressure is too great to worry about some mistakes. There will always be errors. Let us attempt to tackle the problems of our people as the pressures and opportunities allow us with our given resources.

Mr. Salmon

How can we be most effective in learning? Can we arrive at a process by which we can distill the important lessons and deal with our capabilities?

Mr. Pagano

Not yet; we are not sophisticated enough to know that. Considering our pressures, problems, and goals, we aim to do the best possible. Because of high expectations but no sure-fire techniques, we must retain openness of mind and an atmosphere conducive to risk-taking. There is a need for experimentation, innovation, and revolution. Education must be made important in our American society.

C. J. Roberts*

In confronting the legislation and in helping develop the state plan, the legislation itself biased us. You equate community development with new process. Yet, new process might very well dictate the uselessness of community development. The traditions negative to process occur not only at the state level. The counties are obsolete, and metropolitan problems are complex. If we are going to be really brave and take risks, why must we have federal restrictions built in? I question whether the people in the academic communities really have all kinds of concerns about certain traditions so that they cannot at least look at them. Perhaps by problematic approach we may arrive at a definition of community development. Community development carries kinds of overtones of certain traditional disciplines. What are we developing for?

Duane L. Gibson**

I believe community development organizations are willing to take risks, but many of us do not know the answers to how to proceed in various problem areas. For instance, what kind of a definition will be evolving from the word "research?" What is research in the community development process or the resolution of community problems through involvement? Will research get support in the future?

Mr. Pagano

Research must be action-oriented, educational, or, in effect, applied research. There is freedom for whatever research is needed to implement action programs, evaluate alternative approaches, and develop new programs. A project for pure research will not be approved. Funds are not available. We are not interested in merely supporting research in the universities; we are interested in supporting continuing education and extension activities of the universities, not the research arm.

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"Professors of the City": One Approach to Urban Problems

C. J. Roberts,* and
Elden E. Jacobson**

The university has, asserts Cornell University's president James A. Perkins (The University in Transition), three functions: "to acquire knowledge through research; to transmit knowledge through teaching; and to apply knowledge through public service." This paper is concerned with (1) a problem, with the increasing complexity and unnerving reverberations thrust upon nearly everyone by those processes most usually lumped together under the umbrella of urbanization, and (2) a modest response to that problem which a major university is about to initiate as it takes seriously President Perkins' insistence that public service is our legitimate concern. More specifically, we shall explicate a tentative definition of and rationale for the "Professor of the City" concept being administered by the University of Oklahoma in the city of Tulsa, and suggest certain of the issues we believe are involved as this program is partially funded by the federal government under Title I of the 1965 Higher Education Act. For while large segments of the public both within and without the halls of learning, have been willing to affirm the university's position as a shaper of culture, the more specific, institutional, programatic forms this stance requires have been subject to confusion and difference of viewpoint or, perhaps more often the case, have developed piecemeal in response to both those interests or groups most able to exert pressure and/or the availability of government research grants. We are, in the light of such considerations, both excited and concerned regarding the implications which the Higher Education Act seems to suggest for the university as it is actively invited to engage in, to quote the Education Act, "the solution of community problems."

The Problem

Litanies which confess the sins of the cities have become rather commonplace in recent years: J. Martin Klotsche, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, for example, recounts the familiar when he speaks of "smoke, water pollution, sewage, health, education, traffic and transportation, segregation and race, crime and property," to which he further suggests as an addendum, "constantly increasing pressures for expanded public services; outdated political institutions to deal with the economic and social realities of modern urban society; a public apathy to

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**Professor of the City, University of Oklahoma metropolitan affairs, and an absence of imaginative, long-range planning."[1] Needless to indicate, the universe of social ills currently plaguing the urban scene is hardly exhausted by such an accounting, although the most superficial contemplation of this recital quite literally staggers the mind.

Equally familiar, although no less startling to consider, are the projections purporting to describe our intermediate and long-range futures, the great urban corridors extending hundreds of miles along each coast and through various areas of the country's interior, corridors in which "the surrounding countryside" as it is now commonly understood will have vanished. And while individual images of the year 2000 vary in detail, nearly all seem agreed that a doubled population can only exacerbate existing trends if significant, far-reaching decisions and their concommitant expression in action are not soon forthcoming. Are cities to remain places where people live in the fullest meaning of that concept, or shall they finally become commercial centers only, peopled by the very wealthy existing in a world apart, and by the disenfranchised, the racial minorities, the growing body of functional illiterates, who lack the means of escape into the "real" world of suburban life? Such is the image projected by mass departures from urban centers by literally millions of American families, nearly all white, for whom the norm is William H. Whyte Jr.'s "land of blue jeans and shopping center, of bright new schools, of barbecue pit participation, garden clubs, P.T.A., do-it-yourself, and green lawns."[2] Nor does this appear overdrawn; what statistics have described as a general, national pattern is easily verified in the personal experience of those assembled here. The irony of this situation, of course, is evident. For all of their presumed advantages (many quite real) suburban areas which have spread in inkblot fashion around our large cities are now discovering with considerable consternation that those social ills normally associated with the city and supposedly left behind recognize few boundaries. Expanding populations demand services that outmoded forms of local government cannot adequately provide and in their determined insistence to remain residential in character, many such regions are finding the resulting increases in land-value taxes a self-defeating spiral. The manifold dilemmas we associate with the automobile can hardly be confined to the city when so many of those who daily labor there insist upon driving as a means of a daily exodus. Polluted rivers are no less so as they flow through city and suburb alike, and New Yorkers irritatedly testify that New Jersey industrial smoke knows only the vagaries of the wind. Additionally, as Jane Jacobs has so pointedly indicated, suburban decay now demonstrates patterns long since observed in the older central city, patterns which seem certain to produce tomorrow's "grey belts." And so on. Each of us could offer fact and example amplifying many-fold the points intimated here.

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1. J. Martin Klotsche, The Urban University, p. 32.

2. William H. White Jr., "Introduction," The Exploding Metropolis, p. x.

Such projections only spell out what is becoming readily apparent; we are a nation and a people committed to urban life. Response to that old refrain which once entoned, How are you going to keep them down on the farm . . . is not difficult to offer. You are not, nor have we for many years. Rural populations have steadily decreased and the end is not yet. Like it or not we have little choice but to solve these problems--there is no place left to flee.

Such, in extreme brevity, is the context into which the university is being pressured to move. Again utilizing President Perkins' phrasing, universities, long the discoverers and transmitters of knowledge, are faced with the social relevance of that knowledge. Chancellor Klotsche speaks for many when he suggests that "cities are desperately in need of new ideas, and universities, through research and experimentation, are in a strong position to provide them."

The Response

The obviousness of our large universities' commitment to certain forms of public service need hardly be touched upon. If rural extension is historically the most brilliant of the land-grant university's successes, it is by no means the only. Indeed, funds from the federal government now constitute over 75 per cent of all university expenditures for research and these have come primarily from agencies concerned with specific and useable information directly related to national objectives not in agriculture, but in the fields of defense and public health. University professors and various public and private interests, commanding influence and financial resources, have long walked hand in hand, as most of the major airlines could readily testify.

What has been less evident to the casual observer is the highly selective nature of such support. Restricted largely to the physical and biomedical sciences, research in the social sciences as recently as 1963 received just 3 per cent of total federal support for research and only in the immediate past has this relatively minute percentage inched upward. That the figure is increasing contains various insights into the ad hoc manner by which government has utilized university facilities and technical competence when confronted with complex problems. As President Clark Kerr of California has rather vividly illustrated, the "cold war" (hence national defense), health, and space exploration, to suggest a trio of areas in which national interests have been believed at stake, offer manifold technical questions for which the modern "multiversity" is admirably suited to analyze and solve. In this maze of grants, subsidies, and research projects, the pragmatic nature of decisions and the considerable imbalance in the allocation of funds is evident. As President Kerr writes, "they have been made pragmatically, in response to the felt needs of the nation and of the people in accord with the possibilities of the times," and, he adds, "in response to the urgings of very powerful lobbies." Whatever value-judgment one may wish to offer regarding such an arrangement of affairs, and several are possible, Kerr's general insights into the factual operations and relations existing between large governmental agencies on the one hand and large universities on the other seems beyond argument. Congress acts; the federal administrative officers charged with implementation in turn seek aid and expertise as needed from the academic community.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the recent enactment by Congress of the 1965 Higher Education Act came about both in response to educational problems generally and an implicit assumption that the problem-solving liaison between government and university so productive in the technical sciences might now be extended, at least by analogy, into the realm of urban affairs. Not surprisingly, thus, the first section of this congressional act, Title I, turns immediately to community relationships presumed proper for the university. Indeed, its first sentence reads: "For the purpose of assisting the people of the United States in the solution of community problems such as housing, poverty, government, recreation, employment, youth opportunities, transportation, health, and land use by enabling the Commissioner to make grants under this title to strengthen community service programs . . ." The bill further defines "community service program" as an "educational program, activity, or service" which is "designed to assist in the solution of community problems in rural, urban, or suburban areas, with particular emphasis on urban and suburban problems . . ." And here it stops. Apart from an extensive discussion of fiscal details, the two sentences just quoted contain the only substantive definition and guidance within Title I.

Yet the most casual reflection upon phrases like "assisting the people," "solution of community problems," "such as," "educational program, activity or service" suggests a Pandora's box the opening of which may have numerous latent consequences. For it is our belief that while this bill offers in explicit form an awareness on the part of the federal government that any Great Society must inevitably submerge itself in these areas which most directly and immediately impinge upon the lives of people (that is, the vast urban areas where an overwhelming majority now live and work), it likewise introduces a number of covert but vital questions and issues not faced at all in the enabling legislation but unavoidable if universities are to take seriously the apparent intent of Congress. The remainder of this paper discusses, therefore, the rationale for Oklahoma's cooperative university presently being formulated in response to growing urban issues, and at least two significant considerations which must be increasingly discussed and thought through if the university is to commit itself fully in terms implied by the Higher Education Act.

Tulsa's program shares an early history with a number of other institutions; the Ford Foundation's pilot program in that amorphous category most frequently referred to as "urban extension" provided the impetus by which the University of Oklahoma initiated a modest pilot project involving a number of Oklahoma cities. When Ford support was terminated in the fall of 1964, project results seemed sufficiently promising to justify continued existence as a university-funded program. Although tentative in nature, numerous aspects of this experiment have begun to suggest in rather specific concrete instances certain functions which "urban extension" may perform. Most obvious, though hardly confined to it alone, is the dispensing of knowledge, of factual data by and through which various urban problems may be met, at least in part. Clues suggesting more adequate structure for the training of graduate students in the multi-faceted processes of urbanization have also emerged and are currently being evaluated for their future potential. Those directly participating in the urban science program have also been sought out for counseling for consultation, by various, often highly placed, community leaders and decision-makers. President John Bodine of Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences although writing in another context, perhaps best sums up much of the Tulsa experiment to date with the following comment:

> Enough experience has accumulated so far to show that in this new field the university has an important role; to improve communication among the sorely divided elements of city life, to help analyze the probable costs and benefits of various courses of action, to set an example of disinterestedness and sophistication in dealing with urban problems, to strive for intellectual integration among quite separate disciplines, and to insist on attention to values in the struggle to make order out of urban confusion.[3]

Other particulars might be appended to these just cited; the crucial point, and this we wish to stress, involved a basic conviction that cities are not a series of disparate problems, to be met and solved by technical application of predetermined techniques and procedures, but are rather, in the words of the Rockefeller Foundation's Warren Weaver, "organized complexity"; cities are wholes in which "several dozen quantities are all varying simultaneously and in subtly interconnected ways." Most of us will nod and agree with this statement; yes, cities are indeed wholes where given situations or states of affairs in one of Dr. Weaver's "quantities" inexorably influences, conditions, and alters states of affairs in other "quantities," a happenstance often illustrated by the well-known correlations between attempts to secure racial balance in our public school systems and the ghetto conditions under which most Negro families continue to live, the former so frustratingly difficult, even futile, because of the latter.

In actuality, however, most attempts at implementation of the "organized complexity" concept in some workable, recognizable structure have proved disappointing; most metropolitan agencies continue to treat traffic or housing or juvenile cases or public health as technical issues, each to be met by experts knowledgeable in such matters. There is, of course, much validity in such approaches. Expressways are vital features of a modern nation, particularly our own, where ownership of an automobile (or two or even three) has frequently been looked upon as a God-given right; as such, they are quite properly built by engineers whose technical skills assure us (generally) of fine highways upon which to propel our burgeoning swarms of Detroit's latest creations. But where such presumed necessities are to be located, who is it that shall be sacrificed to the paths of progress, what limits must finally be placed upon private transportation before cities are literally buried beneath the automotive encroachment--these are issues that impinge upon all sectors of the urban complex, issues which cannot possibly avoid the clash of disharmonious interests as the questions of value-conflict emerge and demand resolution. Again we have only stated the obvious, that which "everybody knows." Yet in practical terms, many highway departments and commissions are semi-autonomous agencies answerable to almost no one, bound to honor no values other than monetary. In the state of California, for example, only federal action remains as a stumbling block to construction of a freeway through one of the largest and most important remaining stands of virgin redwoods on the west coast. As Governor Brown has ruefully observed, "The Highway Commission is answerable only to God."

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[3] J. Bodine, Liberal Education for Urban Responsibility, Danforth Workshop on Liberal Arts Education, Colorado Springs, June 22, 1964.

If this particular type of example seems overdrawn, and we do not believe it is, it seems no less true that systematic analysis and understanding of any urban setting in all of its constituent wholeness has been more frequently verbalized than practiced. Reasons for this condition do not seem difficult to discern. Few men in governmental administrative positions wish to presume any wide-ranging competency regarding the intricacies of urban social problems, often for good reason. City planners, a group most logically fulfilling this function, have often been less than fully trained, generally over-worked, and perhaps more often placed in advisory capacities in which sound decisions are over-ridden by political considerations. As agents of city administrations, any public objection to such reversals can only undermine their future usefulness or result in an early departure. Many planning staffs have also, as a practical matter, lacked the manpower or resources necessary for the careful study and fact-finding procedures which must underlie the decision-making process and attempts to influence it. The university, too, has enjoyed only limited success in devising ways in which the vast literature regarding the city might be manageably drawn together in some organic whole. As President Bodine states the matter, "urban problems are so interwoven, so inter-dependent, that scholars can only consider them together; in other words, it has been found necessary to consider the urban situation as a system in its own right, inescapably transcending the traditional disciplines." But who among us has fully succeeded in "transcending the traditional disciplines?" Indeed, the fantastic explosion of knowledge implicit in the continued proliferation of disciplines and sub-disciplines very probably precludes the total compass of urban complexity within the training and scope of any one individual, particularly as a model to be generally emulated and sought after in quantity. If this is generally the case, suitable structural arrangements would thus seem required through which the inseparability of the urban setting is genuinely acknowledged beyond an academic nod while retaining the required particular expertise made possible only through extensive and rigorous training within the various social and technical disciplines. The "professor of the city" concept is one effort to meet this challenge and possibility.

Perhaps the concept is best introduced by citing verbatim several descriptive paragraphs from the proposal abstract under which Title I funding was secured:

> Community Problem:
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> Rapidly changing economic and social conditions in the city of Tulsa, advances in the social sciences, and extension of governmental aid programs as of recent, emphasize the need for a more organized approach to the solution of human problems through specific sub-communities of Tulsa. One neighborhood is totally Negro, the second one Negro and white, and the third one a low income white community. Five problem areas have been identified in each neighborhood. These problem areas include: communications-information, neighborhood leadership training, housing needs, youth opportunity, and public health services.
>
> Specific Aspects:
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> Communications-Information--Tulsa mass media are poorly adapted to the solution of full communications needs of the three sub-communities selected. The specific responsibility of the "communications professor" will be divided into two phases or stages. The first stage would be a thorough survey of communication channels functioning in the city, from mass media, to information distribution networks, to rural transmission networks in the neighborhood, business and club, to make each more effective in integrating the three selected sub-communities into the larger Tulsa metropolitan area goals.
>
> Leadership Training--The "leadership training professor" as a specialist in this area would be responsible for determining the pattern of positive and negative relations among groups functioning within the neighborhood. He would work closely with neighborhood leaders and outside agencies involved in the three problem areas of housing, youth opportunities, and health cited below. Specifically, he will develop a neighborhood council of indigenous leadership in each of these three target neighborhoods to be receptive to and then distribute the services of Tulsa agencies in housing, youth opportunities, and public health services within the neighborhood. He would facilitate the development of receptive audiences for experts in the areas cited above.
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> Housing--The "professor on housing" would work to the end that all organizations of the community were urged to coordinate their leadership in the continuing education program for their constituents in general, and the three target neighborhoods specifically, to create an understanding of the moral and ethical problems in the housing needs of the three target neighborhoods. He would hold

neighborhood workshops on "housing: the Human Need," under the broadest community sponsorship possible. He would form and make available to all interested city-wide organizations a panel of speakers on the housing problems of the three target neighborhoods.

Youth Opportunities--A "professor with skills in psychology and social psychology" will provide leadership training and skill development for individuals interested in developing recreational and youth opportunity programs through volunteer organizations. Participants will become proficient in youth activities, first aid, behavior expectancies, and group processes which would enable them to assume leadership roles in recreational and youth opportunity programs in their neighborhood.

Health--A "professor knowledgeable in public health services" would establish educational-information classes in all areas of public health services originating out of the city-county health clinic. He will assist the neighborhood in availing themselves through a variety of educational programs to more fully utilize these services in the three target neighborhoods.

Type of Community:

Tulsa is a metropolitan area covering the total county of Tulsa and the corner of three other counties situated in the northeastern part of Oklahoma, with a population of some 250,000 people. Generally, the city population enjoys better than average income within which seven neighborhoods are described as poverty areas. Specifically, three neighborhoods have been identified as hard-core poverty areas by a number of public agencies. The three poverty sub-communities to which this program will be directed are currently the prime targets for reasons of repeated failure on the part of Tulsa service agencies to secure the interest of these neighborhood people in a self-help improvement program. The source of income for the constituency of the three neighborhoods is principally piecemeal manufacturing work, day labor, and domestic services.

Programs:

"Professors for the city of Tulsa" will be selected from the faculties of participating institutions to begin on a full-time basis the process of developing courses, and counseling needed to work with the community agencies and other local groups in dealing with the designated problems in the three above-mentioned neighborhoods. The program will be essentially a concerted interdisciplinary effort of a team of "behavioral scientists" aimed at providing a full range of educational services in a self-help program for persons living in the three neighborhoods.

Type:

1. Regular courses in various youth activities, health services, and housing improvement that would be interested and appropriate to members of agencies concerned with these problems and for neighborhood groups. These courses would include training and knowledge of the materials to be used in each activity of program concern.

2. Seminars and study groups would be used to enhance each stage of development toward the solution of all five problem areas selected as they affect each of these target neighborhoods. Counseling, both individual and group, would be used to assure the success of program objectives.

Type of Participants:

The "professors for the city of Tulsa" in each of their areas of speciality will identify individuals who have interest in and a capacity for leadership training in the development of proficiency among individuals in each of the three neighborhoods and professional and sub-professional people in each of the agencies concerned with the five problem areas cited above.

Several objectives emerge out of the foregoing abstract, the most immediate of which relates to specific services which direct university participation in the urban affairs of a relatively large city will bring about. In describing the formal structure of this program, much of which reflects the wording and our best understanding of Congressional intent as expressed in Title I, many of the particulars are already evident. Research, systematically engaged in and used to interpret and predict consequences of planned or contemplated action by various decision-makers within the community of Tulsa, seems a salutory and legitimate endeavor for universities; indeed, behavioral scientists, virtually by definition, are interested in at least the descriptive, and ever more sophisticated methods of data collection and analysis testify to this. The university scholar enjoying a "critical distance," not required to demonstrate immediate relevance at every point retains a sense of freedom not readily available to those who must man governmental machinery, and a vital service seems clearly performed when the manifold possibilities of any action, both manifest and latent, are delineated for those who must operate from less advantaged positions of vision. This does not, obviously, imply necessity; the university's a priori right to speak authoritatively on matters which are "everybody's business" seems much less apparent to those on the "outside" than it does to those of us on the "inside," but this too, is crucial to our undertaking; patterns of cooperation between university and community can be more fruitfully explored and nurtured only as particular groups in specific contexts devise and implement, followed by judgments of effectiveness and efforts to communicate such judgments. The unlikelihood of some millenium in which community actors drink only and fully from the university's spring of wisdom need not preclude more adequate patterns of conversation between the urban specialists of the university and those individuals and agencies within the city with whom he might speak.

If the Higher Education Act thus offers universities and colleges a new source of funding through legal encouragement for concerted and sustained experimentation in the bewildering urban setting, it also casts into sharp relief a number of issues and questions requiring considerable attention, two of which we feel compelled to suggest here.

1. The rural-urban extension analogy. Although the pitfalls in this deceptive analogy have come under rather wide discussion of late, it is nonetheless true that rural images still lurk in the thinking of many who would now speak to the city. As we have pointed out earlier, Title I implicitly treats the intricate web of urban social relationships as a series of "such as's," to be attacked by whatever means the university deems most appropriate. Housing, youth opportunities, transportation, to cite the Act's exact terminology, seem thought of as dilemmas to be solved, issues to which the university must bring its knowledge and specialized skill. What does not seem generally recognized is that technical expertise is not now the crucial determinant. Techniques for vastly improved transport have long been readily available; for many years competent engineers have argued the financial feasibility of mass transit systems capable of moving huge numbers of urban dwellers with comfort, great speed and reduced cost per individual. Yet fewer and fewer passengers are currently moved by public forms of ground transportation while automobiles multiply in incredible fashion. New York, like most of our largest cities, is slowly strangling while one of its largest commuter railroads falls into bankruptcy.

In the field of public health, the technical means for eliminating venereal diseases have been widely and cheaply available to the public since the advent of penicillin yet in Tulsa, as elsewhere, the reported incidence of syphilis continues to rise. But not for everyone, and herein lies the tragedy as the burden falls upon our urban populations in very uneven fashion. To quote a recent report, "An estimated 10 per cent of Tulsa's population has 50 per cent of the city's disease."

In both of these differing examples, lack of knowledge, of scientific solution, is not the primary factor, but rather, as is evident, social and human values have interceded, have impeded implementation. Efforts to effectively treat varying forms of communicable diseases must first confront, understand, and effectively counter the social apathy, ignorance, and distrust of the sub-cultures throughout which such problems are most severe and persistent; decisions to build mass transit systems, for example, immediately collide with groups whose own self-interest is believed threatened. Contemplate, if you will, the phenomenal array of values and assumptions implicit in the following remarks of the president of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana in an address made by him some months ago:

> With the certain future increases in population and traffic, driving will be curtailed and our business will suffer unless new

> roads are built . . . the American motorist will be throttled by traffic and by governmental restrictions as well.
>
> This support (for new roads) must be as determined and effective as the opposition that we have always directed toward unnecessary tax increases. If we fail in this we may forfeit many of our own industry's goals. If the industry sits idly by, tax revenues will be used to finance the construction and operation of mass transit systems that cause people to drive less, rather than for building adequate throughways that will permit them to drive more, as they wish to do.

We cite these examples only to pointedly illustrate the limited usefulness of the analogy in question. Rural extension, as others have indicated, deals essentially with a business unit, the farm family, in concerted efforts to maximize production, and all related to it, hence family income. Research and application has enjoyed relatively explicit goals or objectives; soils are enriched by scientifically-compounded fertilizers, seeds and livestock are selectively bred for specific qualities; indeed, better methods are devised for nearly all aspects of farm activity. Alas, no such consensus of objective or homogeneity of client exists within the urban context, for to support one set of objectives almost certainly will impinge upon another. The difference is one of social values and conflicting claims, an area most rural agents have shown remarkable ability in avoiding. As Kirk Petshek has stated, "it is most significant that he does not usually deal with rural problem families, or, for that matter, with migrant workers, who certainly need help more than their employers do!"[4] This would seem to us the crucial distinction which must be recognized as the university seeks means for more effective service within the city. Technical competence is, of course, absolutely essential and prior; that is at least one of the vital commodities or resources we may uniquely offer. But effective utilization requires, we would insist, careful attention to the city as a whole, to the interrelatedness of problem areas and to the conflict of social values and objectives which inhibit or block the fullest utilization of knowledge.

2. The value-judgment issue. If this be true, however, if university professors are now to become systematically involved in the social and political fabric of urban situations in the name of the university, has not a significantly and qualitatively distinct element emerged? If our analysis of the rural-urban extension analogy is essentially correct, the university's prior concerns have been almost solely technical, a statement equally applicable to other problem-solving endeavors by the physical sciences on behalf of specific clients and interests. Questions of ethics, values, and judgments between choices are not wholly absent from these spheres, of course; one need only read the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists to sense the dismay and concern now

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[4] K. R. Petshek, "A New Role for City Universities - Urban Extension Programs," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, November, 1964, p. 306.

being shown for this giant they have brought into the world. But the various imperatives, inexorably linked with matters subsumed under the protection of "our national interest," give substantial clarity to the objectives sought. The objectives are givens, answerable through the intense and fantastically expensive experimentation engaged in by those who have accepted the objectives as valid.

This matter is much less tidy in the social sciences, where even the value-considerations in descriptive social research have not yet been fully resolved, where many behavioral scientists still fail to overtly grant the social consequences of their analytic endeavors. Yet how much more crucial and difficult, how much more ill-defined are the canons of procedure and limit as we are now commissioned to "solve" human problems. Even to identify an area of human activity as a "problem" is to change its character, to cast the focus of attention upon it and to alter the situation. But more than explication, more than the accumulation of fact, extension divisions of universities are now expected to offer "solutions." And social solutions inevitably bespeak values and choices. Melvin Webber recognizes this dilemma when he writes that "seemingly straightforward facts about a society's things and events are seldom, if ever, neutral . . . The information supplier--whatever his motives and methods--is therefore inevitably immersed in politics . . . To play the role of scientist in the urban field is also to play the role of intervener, however indirect and modest the interventions."[5] "Immersed in politics"--that is a highly suggestive phrase, one which immediately violates basic and fundamental tenets of most behavioral scientists, who in emulation of their counterparts in the natural sciences, draw sharp and distinct disjunctions between their lives as professional and as private citizen. Yet facts do not of themselves dictate preferable courses of action. Among alternatives, "solution" explicitly demands that judgments be rendered, that one consequence be sought in lieu of others also possible. If the university, or perhaps more precisely, those within the academic community who now seek to implement this Congressional intent, entertain any possibility of success, Webber's "life of politics" must be more thoroughly discussed and its implications examined.

Perhaps one final example will be permitted which draws upon much of what has been previously stated. Probably no issue in recent years has so unwittingly aroused the ire, vituperation, and hope of people generally as has the newest of our country's wars, the one on Poverty. Discussed, carped at, warmly praised, it frequently appears more a series of disconnected skirmishes than a grand plan for the defeat of an agreed-upon foe. Nor has President Johnson's recent announcement that the battle shall be won by 1976 done little to clarify either objectives or tactics. The reasons seem clear; Professor John Dyckman suggests that "the Poverty Program is split, from the very start, on disagreement over the meaning of poverty. The traditional libertarian nineteenth century economists argue that the problem of poverty is

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5. M. M. Webber, "The Study of Man," Transaction, November/December, 1965, p. 41.

one of inadequate income, and the provision of that income will eliminate the poverty. Some of the contemporary liberals argue the contrary, maintaining that there is a culture of poverty independent of income which cannot be redressed by simple money payments. The choice of a measurement of poverty engages this issue."[6] Indeed it does. The poverty question is most frequently cast in terms of material progress; note the arbitrary establishment by the federal government of the $3,000 figure for a family of four. Only with difficulty does one quarrel with this, for it implies adequate (itself a highly subjective quantity) housing and food. But beyond this? Do we really suppose that such a financial level will eliminate "poverty"? Will this materially affect, say, that growing body of individuals we lump together under that supposedly descriptive phrase of "functional illiterates," individuals who, for this lack or that, find increasingly impossible the mere mechanics of daily life? Experience has indicated for example, that hundreds of thousands of people are unable to cope with even the simplest of arithmetic procedures required on the simplest of income tax forms. Questions of life-for-what can hardly be avoided in discussing such issues. Poverty is not only a physical state, relative to a variety of questionable indicators; it is a state of mind inevitably linked to and embodied in one's own sense of worth and well-being. But this again involves careful analysis of emotional, value-laden questions upon which choices must be made and defended if "solutions" are to be offered. As Bodine further writes, "On the frontier every man knew what was expected of him, but in the greatest centers of prosperity and power in the richest country on earth, thousands of our people have no role to play. They verily believe they have no means of bettering their condition. America has never been a land of opportunity to them."[7]

The argument we present and defend is simply, therefore, this: that social scientists must rethink in part the value-implications of their work and to recognize that for some of these academicians, life in urban public service almost certainly means moving beyond the luxury of positivist detachment. One wonders, at that, who is better qualified to offer judgments regarding social action. He brings to the task a willingness to doubt, to submit findings and data to careful scrutiny by academic peers, to seek empirical tests of validity, and if not immune to, he is generally aware of the ideological considerations which color most human thought and action, including his own.

If this area and issue poses problems for individual social scientists, it most assuredly must create dilemmas for university administrators. What meaning does "academic freedom" assume in this context? What are the limits of protection which universities, most particularly those state institutions dependent upon legislative funding, can reasonably extend to their

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[6] J. W. Dyckman, "Social Planning, Social Planners, and Planned Societies," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, March, 1966, p. 66.

[7] Op. cit., p. 5.

"professors of the city" when the very nature of their research and resultant application to "problem areas" must involve one special interest over another? We do not presume to answer these questions, but they are important and their serious discussion cannot long be postponed. That Dean White of the University of Oklahoma seems acutely aware of them is more than small comfort to those of us engaged in this endeavor.

Finally, this vast and subjective realm of value-judgments and its inexorable relationship with solutions to social problems will almost assuredly receive additional attention when program similar to our own have begun to function effectively in multiple locations. It seems very unlikely to us that the framers of the Higher Education Act fully recognized the distinction between rural and urban extension, or the further questions we have raised here, hence it also seems unlikely they could have carefully considered certain of the consequences likely to flow from them. The true test of this program will come, at least in part, when special interests who have been offended in the course of the university's urban activities petition for reconsideration by Congress of the Title I provision.

How useful will the Tulsa project be? That question suggests many levels of response, none of which can be answered at this point. We are, of course, hopeful. And in conjunction with the multitude of other urban experiments now being conducted across the nation, it may well provide yet another method of approach, and results having meaning beyond the limits of Tulsa itself. We could ask for little more.

A Program Design for University Involvement in the Solution of Human Relations Problems at the Community Level

Duane L. Gibson and Albert E. Levak*

The whole subject of human relations is one of deep concern, both personally and professionally, to large segments of American university faculties. Moreover, our universities tend to be engaged, one way or another, in human relations work. Some research into the matter would probably reveal considerable organized institutional involvement as well as extensive involvement through the individual research endeavors of faculty members. In addition, the university community is likely to include many whose personal convictions involve them as citizens, in various forms of community action related to human relations problems.

I am speaking broadly, of course, of the multitude of societal and behavioral problems which arise from the rapid change that characterizes our contemporary world. The term, human relations, has come to be associated most dramatically with problem of racial conflict, and with the efforts of racial and ethnic minorities to attain a place in the sun, to participate fully in the rights and opportunities that are the American heritage. But human relations does not mean race relations, and human relations problems are not confined to that special category of disadvantage which is recognizable in ethnic terms or distinguishable by poverty and ignorance in an affluent, mass-educated society.

Human relations problems arise wherever change creates an imbalance between order and freedom; wherever a breakdown in traditional forms of social control and customary forms of interaction generates conflict. Problems of intergroup and interpersonal relations arise from the failure of social relationships to meet the personal needs and goals of individuals, and from the failure of social norms to order relationships among people.

Custom once ordered our society, but custom crumbles in the face of the mobility that rapid technological change brings. And the tensions and stress that accompany the crossing of old boundaries--geographic, occupational, racial, cultural--inevitably breed prejudice and discrimination. These are the key ingredients. They are not restricted to the traditional areas of race, religion, nationality and creed; they characterize all conflict related to social interaction, which broadly, is what we mean by "human relations."

Prejudice and discrimination make civil rights an explosive issue, arouse violence, and necessitate legal force to implement racial integration of schools and communities. But prejudice and discrimination also accompany the efforts of the aged, of women, and of teen-agers to gain sanction for their special interests as groups with distinguishable needs and characteristics. Prejudice and discrimination accompany the integration of a new population in a rural town when industry moves in, bringing with it a skilled work force. Prejudice and discrimination accompany all the various changes which occur at the community level as a result of major value changes in American society. For instance: (1) The gradual acceptance of governmental activity in an increasing number of areas; (2) the gradual change from a moral to a causal interpretation of human behavior; (3) the resort to planning rather than a moral reform approach to community problems; and (4) the change of emphasis from work and production to leisure and consumption.[1]

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Thus, human relations problems are as diverse and complex as human activity in a mobile, industrialized, and highly organized urban society. Their solution always lies in the reduction of tension through the development of social forms that conciliate conflicting norms and values and facilitate the acceptance of change.

But how is this development to take place? There is perhaps no more effective and practical way of gaining insight into the nature of the fundamental problems of society than through specific ventures, intelligently designed to alter the dimensions of a problem, deliberately, in as sound and informed a way as possible. Typically, the citizenry gets to the root of social problems by addressing itself to the details of the problem at the community level. Meanwhile, the social scientist addresses himself to the theoretical aspects of social interaction and to the systematic study of events. When the two become partners in a specific venture, new light is shed upon social problems.

I would like to present here a design for a program through which a university might become meaningfully involved in the solution of human relations problems at the community level. The approach is one which utilizes existing agencies and organizations within the community to establish a partnership between academic inquiry and social action that can address itself to specific problems.

Throughout the nation many communities have undertaken to resolve a variety of human relations problems by means of citizen committees appointed by the elected officials to examine situations of intergroup conflict. These citizen groups are variously called "human relations," "intergroup," "race relations," or "community relations" committees or commissions. But their mission and their composition is always essentially the same in that a wide, and often irrelevant, range of knowledge, skills, and commitment is represented by their membership and their role is nearly always ill-defined.

In many instances, the local human relations committee simply acts as a buffer, taking the heat off the city council. Created by local authority, these groups are likely to be bound by the predetermined policies of local authority. Seldom do they have any real power to act on their judgments. In some cases, enabling legislation gives them legal support, but often it is of doubtful value because it is restrictive in nature.

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[1] 1. Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago, Rand McNally and Company, 1963), pp. 89-92.

These committees usually come into being in response to a problem of race relations. There is not likely to be a committee in a community where no obvious interracial problems have arisen, though such a community may well be in the throes of other forms of social conflict which are generating the same acts of human oppression, bigotry, and intolerance that so inhibit the development of human resources.

Given all this, perhaps the greatest limitation on the positive value of local human relations committees is inherent in the lack of knowledge, skills, and resources that characterizes them. Their membership is frequently chosen on the basis of economic status in the community. And while members may feel a strong commitment to concepts of brotherhood and freedom, conviction without guidelines for action is seldom effective. Well-meaning citizens cannot rely on personal philosophies to overcome deficiencies of technical knowledge in attacking community problems. Emotional judgments are never a reliable substitute for reasoned understanding based upon scientific data.

Thus, local committees are handicapped by the ambiguity of their role and a vagueness of their legal or administrative status, by a lack of specialized knowledge appropriate to their task, and by circumstances which force them to operate in isolation, without access to information on what is being done about similar problems in other communities. Each committee attacks its problems on a trial and error basis without recourse to techniques which have proved successful in similar circumstances elsewhere. Yet these committees are seeking to deal, in some way, with very complex problems for which custom, tradition, and past experience in the community offer them no suitable guidelines.

In our society the university, more than any other place, is the center of experiment, where free play is given to the speculative mind and where knowledge is pooled and disseminated. The university is also a place where specialized knowledge of the whole spectrum of human relations is prevalent and prolific.

Over the past half-century American social scientists have accumulated a vast store of literature on the processes of interaction between racial, religious, nationality, and other cultural groups in the United States. Our universities are rich in knowledge of human relations and, as pointed out earlier, are engaged not only in furthering that knowledge but in institutional and individual efforts to impart the relevant knowledge to the public.

A casual perusal of service, research, and faculty participation in public affairs at Michigan State University, for example, reveals extensive knowledge and interest in human relations problems. In our own Institute for Community Development and Services both field activities and the research endeavors of the staff have involved us in human relations problems from the inception of our organization.

We are one of many organizations within Michigan State University which engage in study and action in the broad field of human relations. Among these are the National Center on Police and Community Relations, the Mott Institute for Community Improvement, the School of Labor and Industrial Relations, the Institute of Biology and Medicine, all of which become involved in various ways with aspects of human relations problems.

Such services as the Psychological Clinic and the Reading and Guidance Center deal with problems of interpersonal relations and individual adaptation to social norms, and the Computer Institute for Social Science Research facilitates the voluminous analysis of data on social problems accumulated by the faculty. The University's published reports of "Research in Progress" is replete with serious scholarly endeavor concerned with the application of scientific methods and accumulated knowledge to problems of human relations.

With all this, we do not have at Michigan State University an organization specifically designed to focus faculty resources and university facilities upon problems of human relations and their solution. We in community development working within the universities might well consider this an area of particular concern and one in which we can create some mechanisms that will bridge the gap between the social scientist and the community.

Could not a university Office of Human Relations work with local human relations committees to provide just such a bridge? Such an office within the university could participate in specific ventures at the local level by providing educational services to these committees, thus contributing to the effective handling of human relations problems by means of intelligent, reasoned action.

Those who work for the solution of social problems require knowledge that stems from all of the academic disciplines that form the traditional core of our universities. Practical problems nearly always encompass many spheres of academic inquiry, and their solution, in the face of disparate and conflicting goals, can require all the diverse capabilities represented by the professional schools of the universities.

The academic deals in the ordering and reordering of knowledge through which new knowledge emerges and new responsibilities are disclosed. His dilemma, with reference to specific problems, is his inability to transmit knowledge effectively to the public. He lacks the means, individually, of translating knowledge into action. Institutionally, however, the university can provide the means by drawing together diverse faculty resources and organizing them in a manner that focuses upon the practical problems of society, relating the work of the scientist to that of the decision-maker.

I am told by Burton Levy, Director of Community Services for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, that some thirty public agencies charged with responsibility for the study and mitigation of human relations problems exist in Michigan communities. Only six of these have professional staff. Burton I. Gordin, Director of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, says that all have two serious liabilities. First, their resources are inadequate at both the state and the local level, and second, with some few exceptions, these agencies are ineffective.

What impact can human relations committees have on decision-making in the community? Can they study diverse problems in order to advise political representatives? Are they to deal strictly with race relations and with immediate situations, disbanding when the crisis is past? Can they anticipate emerging problems of social interaction and discover the means of easing stressful situations as they occur? And will their recommendations serve simply to legitimize political action, or should human relations committees have authority to act in the political arena?

These questions have nowhere been answered. To explore them more fully and to clarify the significance of human relations committees as a balance to economic development would be a primary purpose of an Office of Human Relations established within the university to work with local human relations committees. The first task, of course, would be to develop a working knowledge of human relations problems within the state, and to establish contact with existing human relations committees. Specifically, then, the assignment would be:

1. To promote the establishment of human relations committees and develop training programs for their members.
2. To help existing human relations committees to define their role in the community.
3. To work with these committees to:
   a. Promote intelligent and informed analysis of human relations problems in their communities.
   b. Train citizens in the location and application of knowledge which is accessible and relevant to local problems.
4. To disseminate to human relations committees, and to elected officials, government and voluntary agencies, and the interested citizens, a periodical publication providing information relevant to problems in community relations.
5. To assist in the coordination of human relations work in communities by conducting an annual statewide conference at which problems, programs, and methods could be reviewed and analyzed.
6. To conduct research directed specifically to:
   a. Determine the nature of the problems prevalent in communities of the state and the means appropriate to their solution.
   b. Determine the effective size and composition of community human relations committees.
   c. Determine the type of knowledge and skills necessary to the training of citizens for participation in human relations work at the local level.
   d. Develop a capacity to detect emerging problems in human relations.
7. To facilitate the publication of research work in American universities that contributes to the understanding and solution of human relations problems.
8. To publish a directory of community human relations committees in the state if none now exists.

As the necessary working knowledge is acquired, the university's Office of Human Relations could develop a booklet for state-wide distribution providing guidelines to action for local Human Relations committees. This manual would utilize the information obtained by inventory and the knowledge acquired and refined in workshop activities. It would also direct the reader to reference sources and to community sources that can be utilized toward the solution of human relations problems.

As the program develops, a state-wide conference would provide an appropriate means of utilizing faculty resources to acquaint citizen groups with both theory and practice in the field of human relations and to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and experience among communities.

Procedurally, a university Office of Human Relations could begin by conducting an inventory of human relations resources, compiling a directory of local agencies in the state. The directory would include the names, occupational positions, educational backgrounds, and organizational affiliations of human relations committee members and would indicate the size, manner of appointment, and degree of authority of these committees.

Secondly, a series of workshops should be conducted, both on and off the campus, to involve academic personnel in the discussion of specific problems with members of local committees and other community leaders. The nature and needs of human relations programs in the state would be reviewed by this means, and knowledge would be gained as to how meaningful training programs, educational materials, and consultative services might be developed.

A periodical publication designed to disseminate news of human relations activities in the state and report the findings of recent research could be circulated to human relations committee members, community leaders, and interested citizens. It would be of particular importance to circulate this publication widely in communities where committees had not been formed as a means of promoting the establishment of new committees. The periodical would serve, however, as an "association bulletin," reporting state and national activities in this field and providing information on program and personnel changes within the state. It would also review books and periodical literature germane to the field. An additional publishing project of great value would be the compilation of an annotated bibliography of materials dealing with problems of human relations.

The personnel and facilities required to conduct such a program are readily mobilized within the university structure. This program could be initiated by a social scientist, serving half-time as director of the Office of Human Relations, with two graduate assistants and one full-time secretary. The director should be a teaching member of an academic department offering courses in the area of human relations. He and his staff could utilize established resources and facilities of the adult education branch to carry out the procedures outlined here. Within three years of its initiation, such an office could profitably add to its staff a social psychologist and a psychologist with academic and field experience in human relations.

By these various means, an Office of Human Relations could establish, in less than a year, a solid base from which extensive training, field consultation and research could be brought to bear upon the human relations problems and programs in communities of the state. The continuing program would entail:

1. Training. A tentative model is a twelve-hour training program, conducted in three-hour sessions once a week for four weeks. These programs would preferably be planned on a regional basis and would cover such topics as "Modern Society: Values in Conflict," "Prejudice and Discrimination," "Intra-and Extra-State Resources," and "The Role of the Local Human Relations Committee."

2. Consultation. Consultative services could be provided on an *ad hoc* basis at the request of local human relations committees for purposes of reviewing problems and suggesting approaches to their solution. Such services could also be provided to local government officials and citizen groups to promote the establishment of effective human relations committees wherever a need exists.

3. Research. The research orientation of such an Office of Human Relations probably should be in the direction of applied research to investigate specific human relations problems in the state. Many characteristics peculiar to any state create a complex and shifting social structure which must be examined to determine what the unique human relations problems are. In Michigan, for example, the automotive industry and the fruit and vegetable industry attract low-skill, low-education workers to the state, where they live in propinquity with other, well-educated people who compose one of the most highly-skilled labor forces in the world. The range of human attributes and social characteristics and values is great, and the field for applied research in human relations is fertile.

This model is a simple one, consistent with many kinds of adult education and service functions now undertaken by American universities. It is perhaps unique in that it seeks to promote an administrative framework solidly based within the local government structure of the community. The university's function, administratively, would be to provide a forum through which local groups communicate with each other and jointly gain access to the educational services through which the academic community can transmit knowledge effectively to the world of practical affairs.

Relating West Virginia University to the State

K. E. Glancy*

To understand the framework within which community development and programs for problem solving are organized at West Virginia University, it will be helpful to review the organizational structure of the Appalachian Center. The Appalachian Center is the university-wide unit to bring the educational forces of the university into contact with the people of the state, with the primary purpose of being a vital force in the destiny of West Virginia. The formal title, West Virginia Center for Appalachian Studies and Development, is appropriate in the only state which lies entirely within Appalachia.

To become the "vital force" in the state, the Appalachian Center aims to provide "knowledge for decision-making." This has become the motto of the Center and is the basis for much of our programming emphasis.

The Appalachian Center incorporates within its organization the extension units which you know as cooperative or agricultural extension and general extension. In addition, the Office of Research and Development adds a new dimension and provides for applied research with direct applicability to the development of the state. Currently the Office of Research and Development, in cooperation with the State Department of Commerce, is working on a "State Plan," primarily economic in nature, with rather far-reaching implications for the type of adult and community programming we will emphasize in the future.

The inclusion of general and cooperative extension into one administrative unit has gone much farther than merely having two divisions which report to one dean. Many of our staff members cannot truly be identified as one or the other, or, if they can be identified, you will find that they fulfill some functions traditionally a part of the other division. County extension staff now provide a local scheduling and development service for credit and non-credit classes and informal programs in their communities, and function as the contact point in scheduling and promoting state-wide programs in each community. In turn, they form a sounding board around the state from which we receive requests at the University for all types of services, including the traditional agricultural service.

A word of comparison of the traditional agricultural extension service with the present concept might be useful. As we all know, the agricultural extension service has been very successful over the years in turning the small farm of the early 1900's into a very efficient and economically self-sufficient food factory by mid-century. The emphasis in this program has been primarily technical in nature with a great deal of "how-to" information to go along with the technical information to make it useable and effective.

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Effective it was as far as it went. It was not, however, planned as a force for social change and programming took little notice of the social environment or community institutions with the exception of those few directly related to agriculture. It should be noted that general extension in the past has also made little impact in the area of social change or community problem solving. This broader concept of community problem solving now coming into focus in extension, whether it be in general or cooperative extension, is aimed not only at solving community problems, but also at finding out whether the problem at hand is the real problem or is merely a symptom of a larger, more complex community ill. The change of emphasis may be characterized as a movement away from emphasis on the family unit as the major social force, and toward the community unit and the organizations and institutions which provide the functional force in social, economic, governmental, and even cultural activities in our urban oriented society today.

The major objective of the Appalachian Center is to provide the informational background which will develop awareness of the community problem in the minds of the citizens and the community leaders, will develop an awareness of its implications for the life and future of the community, and will provide the educational wherewithall for the citizens and the community leaders to sift through the alternatives open to them. If an adequate background is provided, the community will be able to select the best possible solution and then, we hope, will have the courage to act on this conviction and translate it into decisions and action.

This background sets the stage for examining some of the programs which are operating to implement the concepts of community and adult education which are embodied in the objectives of the Appalachian Center.

Historically, universities have hesitated to become involved in public issues. The problem has been recurring and refuses to go away. The new concept of providing educational background for social change, however, means that it is necessary for the university to provide an educational service related directly to public issues in order to fulfill its commitment. In West Virginia we mounted an extensive program on a state-wide basis to provide information which was related to a forthcoming bond issue for road building within the state. Information bulletins, radio tapes, TV tapes and news releases were prepared, imparting the best information which was available, and this information was issued as a service of the University. The bond issue passed and the University was not criticized to any significant extent for its participation.

In two or three instances involving a county bond issue for public schools, we have prepared information for dissemination through the various media within the community. The bond issue did not always pass, but we were able to provide this educational service without significant criticism. We did receive criticism when some of our staff living in the county let it be known they favored one side of the issue and other staff members also were vocal in support of the opposition. Personal involvement by staff members as individual citizens is difficult to control and can cause some problems.

At this point I would like to express a purely personal opinion. I feel that colleges and universities should become involved in public issues, and should be willing, based upon the best considered evidence available, to express an opinion as to how the issue could best be resolved. This can be done if the information comes from the university and not from the extension representative who happens to be located in the community considering the problem. The university should be prepared to supply to the community, in any way possible, the same information used by the staff to reach a conclusion so that citizens and community leaders, hopefully, will be led through a similar decision-making process and will arrive at a similar solution. This requires a commitment on the part of universities to become involved in the actual process of social and community change which, with few exceptions, is foreign to their current philosophies.

Many schools are now training special groups for community service, VISTA, Head Start, Job Corps, Peace Corps, etc., and this certainly is an educational activity in which the university should be involved. But the next step is also necessary to make this training more meaningful and to provide the excellence of instruction we demand in our academic courses. Research must back up the instructional team. At present our extension staff is involved in a start in this direction with a research project in three very depressed areas in the state, each with a different social organization, but all having essential economic poverty.[1] The type of educational program we have in these locations cannot conceivably be considered college level, but it certainly is experimental and is a demonstration of what can, and sometimes of what cannot, be done by extension personnel and other agencies to involve the people of these communities in the improvement of their own situation and of the institutions within the community.

Another series of projects deserves mention because it involves a cooperative venture to aim at a real problem. The Medical Center of the University, the Appalachian Center, the State Department of Health, and the State Dental Association have cooperated in the development of a program of dental education to go into every community. The professional units provided the technical competency to prepare the materials. The staff of the Appalachian Center consulted with them to assure that the material would be at the level of those for whom it was intended and that it was in a useable form. The Appalachian Center county staff, along with the county dental societies, are providing the organization and impetus for presenting the programs to groups in the local communities. This program is expected to reach at least one quarter of the people of the state and perhaps as many as one-half.

A similar program is now in process in the area of mental health. These programs aim directly at a community problem with an educational service to provide basic information to the citizens, both youth and adult.

These are illustrations of the "project" method which we are using for

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1. A twelve minute color movie, "Spring Comes to Vintroux," provides a good over-view of one of these projects. This film is available from the Audio-Visual Library, West Virginia University.

our major programs. The project package is complete enough to be used by our county staff, either as instructors themselves or with volunteer instructors, as a complete educational unit. The material is outlined, the instructor is provided with a guide to procedures, and reference materials are included in the package. Where programs are planned for wide dissemination and professional staff members are not required to make the presentation, the project package has many advantages.

Let me note briefly a few of the other programs which we are using to reach certain clientele; programs which are aimed at well-defined community problems:

1. An educational awareness program, aimed at the problem of school dropouts, emphasizes the basic social requirement of completing a high school education to both students and parents and even to school personnel, some of whom feel a better academic program is possible if at least half of the potential high school students are weeded out.

2. Science camps, about twelve in number, for junior high school students provide an additional attempt to encourage the youth of the state to enjoy, appreciate and value education.

3. The youth program now includes additional projects patterned after 4-H projects, but aimed primarily at urban youth and/or poor youth and not necessarily requiring 4-H membership. The few experiments in this area have been very successful and more are being developed. Such areas as computer science, automotive safety, programmed learning, electronics, geology, and music are being developed.

4. Programs for women are now going well beyond the activities developed for Home Demonstration Clubs. Career information and community service opportunities are being programmed as regular educational services for community groups. A few days ago a grant was received to endow a chair of Family Planning and Reproductive Physiology at the University Medical Center. The State Chairman for Extension Programs for Women has actively encouraged this development and expects to make considerable use of the information thus made available in community educational programs for women.

5. Cultural programming by extension on a community basis has been developed in a limited number of institutions. We are now embarked on a modest effort to provide encouragement and assistance to community cultural activities. We feel this will be a very important area of extension activity within the next few years.

6. Continuing professional and technical education will also be stressed as it has been in the past, and such program can be used as a tool in the solution of some community problems.

7. Human resource and leadership development has received considerable attention from our staff in the past few months. So far, a few programs for community leaders have emerged, but we expect to develop this area into one of five or six major areas of adult and community education.

Obviously, our involvement with Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and other legislation relating to continuing education will have an impact on our sense of commitment to any specific programming pattern. The immediate reaction of the colleges in West Virginia to the possibilities available through Title I was that we had one specific community problem area in which very little was being done and in which much must be done if communities were to fall into step with the American Society. This problem area is public affairs. Immediate programs were planned for public officials and the closely related area of community planning. To make these effective it was felt that education was also necessary in the area of citizen responsibility to encourage citizens to understand their community, how it works, how it can be changed, and how it should be changed. These three aspects of public affairs education were incorporated into our state plan for the current year.

The community problem solving aspect of this legislation fits in well with our stated objective of providing "knowledge for decision-making." We are committed to providing the educational base for adequate consideration of the alternatives available to the community and of the consequences of each alternative. We cannot impose our will on a community, and have no desire to do so, but we have faith that supplying as much education and information as possible will encourage citizens and community leaders to come to decisions which will be to the best interest of the community and of the state and nation.

I would like to mention a few items relating to operating philosophy which are pertinent to the consideration of the direction in which community development education is moving.

We do not often spell it out, but we are educating for freedom. We have heard that expression until it has little meaning for us, but let me give it a meaning that we can use. We are educating our citizens so they can be free to participate in the American society and have an opportunity to be free from economic deprivation. We provide education so citizens are free from social isolation, both as individuals and as communities. We educate them to understand, and to be free to use, social processes and to encourage social change. We provide educational stimulation to keep the people of the community free from mental ossification and also to free them from political apathy. This I call educating for freedom. To me, this is a basic precept of education for community development.

The second item I want to stress is that, in order to have a significant impact on the state through community development, it is necessary to become involved on a major scale. We cannot be concerned alone with the directions and types of development or change that are necessary; we must also be vitally concerned with the social action process that enables the development to become a reality. Extension personnel pose a problem directly related to this concept. Two types of personnel are available. One is the generalist who is interested in the group process and how the change is effected. Community Development as a group process is dependent upon the generalist who can identify a variety of problems and interrelate them to provide a total picture of the progress of the community. The other type of person is the specialist who can provide the information relating to the economic direction, the educational development, the traffic flow, the public facilities and streets, the administrative and fiscal organization, and many other areas. The specialist in each of these areas has an important function but he cannot take the place of the generalist. The generalist, on his part, cannot provide this required technical information. Both are needed if the university is to provide adequate educational services for comprehensive community planning.

Our approach to this problem is to establish an office of Community Resource Development and Public Affairs with a limited staff, with an administrator and coordinating function, and then back up our regular county staff members with six area Resource Development staff members. These in turn will call on the academic disciplines of the University as they determine the need for specific types of educational and technical assistance in the ever-changing development pattern of the community.

A third important concept that cannot be overlooked in community development is that we seldom, if ever, educate communities. We educate individuals in the community. Although we teach groups, it is the individual in the group that is doing the learning. Traditional education of adults is the base on which we must build our community development educational services.

Another consideration: the educational emphasis in community problem solving should include a thorough understanding of the problem, whether it is an actual problem or a symptom, and the development of all possible alternatives which are open to the community. Each program should have as one of its stated objectives the development of cultural patterns and of cultural understanding based on this thorough understanding as an addition to the solution of the immediate problem.

Last, I would like to stress that the area of community problem solving is not entirely new, yet we have very few people who call themselves professionals in the area. Most people on university payrolls who have received formal training are now in administrative or academic positions. Very few are actually working in communities. We must consider the training necessary for those who are to make a career of dealing with community development and problem solving. Then, we must do everything that we can to provide this training so the next generation of community workers will not only be greater in numbers but will have a better background for this work than most of us can claim.

In conclusion, let me restate two or three points which I feel are very important to the future growth of community development educational activities.

University based educational activities must include the best possible information relating to the current public issues in the community.

Applied research directly related to and leading to the development of specific educational programs is a necessity if universities are to meet their commitment as a social force in community development.

A more comprehensive program, a broader concept, will be required if the university is to provide the expanded educational service required to assist the community with the solution to the problems which plague it.

Programs now operating will need to add new dimensions and will need to reach additional clientele if they are to meet the requirements of educating for cultural understanding and social change.

Limited resources require setting priorities, but one program which can be neglected only at great peril is that of providing the educational background for the next generation of community educational specialists.

These, then, are the directions which we see for community development. It is evident at this point that we have only begun the fight.

The Future and Direction of University-Based Community Development Programs

Raphael J. Salmon*

Since the process of education is a continuous effort to learn how to solve the problems facing man and his society, concern over the potential roles of our educational institutions in the struggle for development is both necessary and appropriate. How can science and technology assist in developing methodologies and techniques capable of identifying and projecting the consequences of alternative courses of action? How can the number of alternatives multiplied by scientific advances be utilized effectively by the social structure?

The topic to which I would like to address myself today is the ways in which the universities of this nation--which in a sense, represent the epitome of what our educational system has to offer--can most effectively involve themselves in community/regional development programs. At the outset, let us take a closer look at some of the major factors affecting development planning. From there, we can progress to consideration of some specific roles of universities in the development of an area.

The Present State of the Art

Individuals and societies have long been concerned with identification of critical objectives to guide their lives. Through this motivating force, religious thoughts have been created, ethical concepts recognized, and cultures developed. Achievement of these goals requires a process by which real or imaginary needs are identified and research and/or application techniques adopted to overcome barriers which hinder the fulfillment of these objectives. To complete this process, involvement is the nerve mechanism necessary to assure proper response of individuals, groups, and societies. Without involvement, there is likely to be little progress, since stimulation to experiment with new undertakings, the challenges of creativity or gaining of recognition, and other motivating forces will be lacking.

With a certain element of exaggeration, a story is told about a very well-to-do gentleman who had all the comforts that money could buy and yet was still dissatisfied with his meaningless life. Feeling an overwhelming sense of emptiness, he decided to do away with himself. Just to confirm his decision, he consulted his physician. The doctor talked with his patient at some length and became convinced of his sincerity and determination to commit suicide. Reaching a radical decision, the physician amputated his patient's leg. To the doctor's satisfaction, his treatment succeeded. For the first time, life provided a challenge to his patient, as even the simple act of walking required effort. The neighborhood park suddenly seemed attractive and inviting, and people who had appeared so distant in the past now became friends, ready to assist when help was needed.

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As with the individual mentioned above, the ultimate goal of development efforts may be regarded as creation of opportunities conducive to growth and to actualization of the potentialities of the individuals and groups concerned, relative to their chosen goals. For this purpose, specific objectives are conceptualized in line with the current state of comprehension of the forces favoring or hindering progress. Unfortunately, the factors which contribute to development--or lack of development--of a community or a region are not very well understood.

There is a "price" that must be paid for development. Often basic readjustments are needed, in fact, before any fundamental change can take place. The costs to the community (be it a city, a region, or the nation as a whole), may not necessarily be equitably distributed among its citizens. Their resistance to proposed development programs or projects consequently may stem from a mixture of factors, some based on realistic assessment of the difficulties and consequences involved, but others on lack of ability to carry out such an assessment.

In recent years, a shift has occurred in the study of development problems. Not so long ago, volumes of governmental and nongovernmental studies concentrated on inventories of natural and human resources and industries as a base for planning. A new orientation is emerging, however, as the concept of single solutions to identified problems is being replaced by recognition of the necessity for a multi-pathway approach to the challenges of development. The interrelationships between components have come to be recognized as often more significant than the scarcity of a single component.[1] This change reflects the relationships between the social and natural environments within which communities and regions function. These environments, in effect, constitute complex, dynamic, interacting systems of component parts which are so interrelated and balanced that changes in one component are likely to result in changes in other parts of the system(s). Having no truly independent parts, such systems therefore cannot be considered in isolation.[2] Evaluation of the net results of a given action can be made only after comprehensive analysis of the intricate and diverse interactions among the component parts, which must operate in mutual harmony and adaptation with respect to critical socio-economic, physical, and ecological elements.

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1. Raphael J. Salmon, "Social and Economic Aspects of Natural Resources," Final Draft of Report to the Committee on Natural Resources, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1962), p. ii.

2. Paul Weiss, Renewable Resources, Report to the Committee on Natural Resources, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1962, pp. 1-10.

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Thus development programs demanding effective resource allocation and management also require careful assessment of the impact of each component upon the other and relative to the total system of which it is a part. Although narrow circumscription of given problems may facilitate categorical solutions, it should be recognized that the results will be valid only in isolated cases where the initial definition of the problem coincided with reality. Too often, we seem to learn what should not be done after objectives have already been accomplished, yet seldom is it feasible to undo what has been completed. A costly dam, for example, constitutes a relatively unchangeable fact once it has been built. Means of estimating the net benefits of alternative patterns of resource use require refinement, based on better understanding of the forces affecting development and of their consequences.

Science, although often regarded as a source of development, also nourishes the seeds of strife. As science and technology multiply the alternatives available to society, they also add to the complexity of selection among them. At the same time, however, formulation of methodologies and techniques capable of projecting the consequences of alternative courses of action, may facilitate reasonable and informed decision-making. Research is not a substitute for training and action programs, but development efforts may be most effective, when a chain reaction is established whereby research stimulates action, and action points to needs for new research necessary to initiate another phase of the never-ending cycle of growth. The course of growth and the strength of our nation, ultimately, depend upon the cooperative efforts and creativity of the sciences dealing with man and his society, supported by experience and the knowledge gained from comprehension of man's physical environment.

The Nature of Universities and Their Relationship to Development

Although a university is often conceived as a community of scholars, it is also a part of the larger community within which it exists. Today, academic "ivory towers" are being replaced by university "glass houses." The needs and responsibilities of our centers of higher learning are conditioned by the problems facing man in this technological age. The inadequacy of present concepts, methodologies, data and techniques for assessment, planning and guidance of development efforts is coupled with the need for competent scientific manpower to improve our knowledge bases and provide the tools for development. Because of the very breadth and depth of expertise encompassed within universities, they have a special kind of responsibility to the society within which they exist.

Development of an adequately informed, concerned, and functioning citizenry is one of the major goals of modern university centers. In many depressed pockets of this country today, citizens and local governments cling to uneconomic and outmoded operational patterns because this is all they have ever known and because they do not have the capability to evaluate the potential benefits--and the nature of the costs--involved in development. Assessment of the forces demanding change and of those elements guarding the stability of the social structure may be critical in this regard. Adequate preparation of the citizenry to understand and cope with the problems of development is essential. Their expectations and readiness to meet and constructively guide such efforts may play a major role in supporting or defeating a program. The unprecedented complexity of social and technological change requires careful analysis of our educational systems relative to regional and national goals.

The land-grant university system often has been cited as one example of effective university involvement in community problems. Universities with land-grant traditions have long had direct contact with citizens in their regions through the consultant services and programs they provide. Small liberal arts colleges, on the other hand, frequently exist within their own milieu and operate in the "town-gown" tradition. The role that a university center may take in local, regional, and national development efforts naturally depends upon its fundamental goals, objectives, and operational patterns. University and community mutual interests require identification.

In line with regional conditions and the nature of the university itself, certain major areas of potentially beneficial involvement may be noted:

Research Efforts

A function traditional to our centers of higher learning is basic research to provide the kind of foundation from which applied programs must operate. Universities may have readily available the trained scientific manpower to identify and undertake research in fields pertaining to community-regional development which require a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach. For example, the process by which economic activities locate in particular geographic areas requires study. Analysis indicates that there are patterns in decisions related to the present and projected clustering of industrial and commercial enterprises in certain areas, of which planners are not sufficiently aware. Effects of development efforts on national growth and on patterns of resource development and management also should be better identified. One of the major contributions of universities to development efforts may be assistance in evaluating and formulating appropriate local, regional, and national goals. Planning programs may benefit from investigation leading to determination of the most appropriate geographic unit for analysis with respect to specific resource and industry considerations. Construction of models to assist in system identification in terms of specific economic objectives may assist in assessing the effect of change on the economic development of a region or of specific resources.

Research is also needed into the interdependencies of the various factors affecting regional development, including industrial, trade, technological and social forces. Attempts should be made to identify coefficients of linkage and to develop effective predictive models for key resources and industries. Evaluation aimed towards more accurate projections and measurement of social, economic, and technological implications of proposed development programs in line with total community structures should be undertaken. Such analysis would facilitate assessment of anticipated dislocations caused by adaptation of new patterns of development, and may make possible formulation of means to guide such changes constructively for the economic and social welfare of individuals and society. Necessary would be research to develop a methodology for measurement of the nature and level of economic adjustments required from regions.

Research is also needed to identify effective development approaches and techniques. Factors and forces which have contributed to their success should be evaluated, and the feasibility of stimulating their transfer to other regions should be assessed. As part of this investigation, study of the variety of social and technological settings within which development planning has been undertaken, of its effectiveness, and of the predictability of its path would be of value.[3]

Training and Education Efforts

Also traditional to university functioning is education and training of our country's scientific and professional manpower. University training of community development personnel has tended to be fragmentary and variable in nature. Some institutions emphasize sociological concepts in analysis of behavior patterns within their cultural settings, while others place greater stress on the adult education approach to individual and group development. In still other universities, assessment of the economic characteristics of the area in question and/or of its physical structure and resource potentialities is considered the primary path to community-regional development.

The traditional division of university training into highly specialized disciplines in many instances tends to reinforce this fragmentation of approach and sometimes to contradict the currently recognized need for scientists capable of visualizing the overall breadth and depth of local, regional, and national development programs. The segmented fashion in which this nation's development problems have been approached and the lack of an institutional structure conducive to multidisciplinary attack on such problems may constitute significant handicaps to effective development programming. In a related field, for example, the National Academy of Sciences point out[4] that "the most critical shortage in the area of water resources by far is the very

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3. Raphael J. Salmon, "Social and Economic Aspects of Natural Resources," Final Draft of Report to the Committee on Natural Resources, (Washington, D.C., National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1962).

4. Raphael J. Salmon, "Report on Water," Final Draft of Report to the Committee on Natural Resources, (Washington, D.C., National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1962), pp. 40-41.

real shortage of broadly-trained people capable of planning and executing effective research programs. The whole hydrosciences field is now pathetically limited for the tasks involved . . . Development of a new structure and a new generation of well-founded water scientists ready and able to approach the nation's multidisciplinary water resources problems in a unified manner as 'Hydrosciences' is needed."

The steadily increasing demand for community developers to work with recently initiated federal and state programs lends additional weight to the importance of provision of professional manpower with the necessary comprehensiveness of approach to effectively formulate, implement, and evaluate development programs. Universities should assess the nature and scope of their community development training programs presently in operation in light of anticipated future requirements. Fairly uniform community development curricula should be formulated to provide undergraduate and graduate education, taking full advantage of the contributions which understanding of the physical and the social sciences may make to development efforts. Consideration should be given to utilization of field placements as a part of the educational program and to provision of in-service training for extension personnel. Attention should be focused also on training of community leadership in line with programs developed, texts and other necessary training aids should be prepared for use in university programs. Curricula and field training established should be subjected to frequent reevaluation so that they may be responsive to changing needs and requirements.

Field Service Efforts

Closely related to both research and teaching functions is the concept of the university as a service agent. Services rendered vary from one university and region to another. A university may provide a focal point for dissemination of information and/or guidance as to where data may be obtained on specific questions pertaining to development efforts. University publications may be one means of making readily available frequently needed data. Within appropriate bounds a university also may act in a consultant capacity to individuals, groups, and agencies. As a phase of this consultant role, the university may serve as a convener, bringing together agencies and organizations which may have common interests and would benefit from cooperation and coordination on specific problems. In such efforts, care must be taken to see that bureaucratic organizations established to serve society do not, in time, become essentially anti-social in nature through self-perpetuation of their own existence when time has outdated the need for their services. The ultimate goal of university consultation to the community, in fact, should be for the university to work itself out of a job at one level and into new responsibilities in line with critical elements hindering development due to lack of knowledge or availability of services.

Another important aspect of the service function may be an extension of the teaching tradition, as the university may offer special education and/or stimulate development of manpower training programs. University centers have a unique opportunity to reach vast numbers of people, and they have a status in the community which further supports their function in public education. University programs may include efforts aimed at development of needed semi-professional manpower and education of the public. Programs to stimulate and guide development of effective structures for manpower training--to train the trainers--are appropriate to the university role as an institution of higher learning.

The importance of an adequately participating citizenry for the success of development programs cannot be overemphasized. In our rapidly changing world, the lead time to produce informed citizenry is often too long to meet current needs. Where alternatives are limited and new ways of life may be required, planned and guided introduction to anticipated changes may facilitate subsequent adaptation and adjustment. A methodology should be developed by which concerted efforts with one group may be transferred to other groups in a systematic sharing of experience and knowledge gained. In this way, with more intense programs and a smaller total commitment of professional resources, public education efforts may multiply, reaching citizens and communities who seldom have any direct contact with the initiator of the process. With careful planning, the same principle could be used to involve large numbers of communities in development programs, thus making maximum use of available resources.

The Community as a Laboratory

University-community relationships are not a one-way street. Involvement, such as that suggested above, in real and pressing development problems should be a substantial stimulus to the intellectual vigor of the university center. The community-regional setting within which the university functions may provide to university staff and students a well-equipped and effective laboratory for study, research, and experimentation relative to the many social and technological problems confronting society. Through fundamental and dynamic contact with on-going problems, both faculty and students may become more perceptive of new needs and greater dimensions of thought. University educational programs may be invigorated by involvement in community, regional, state, and national development efforts which also may stimulate badly needed university research in critical areas.

In a sense, university participation in development programs may be likened to the role of a medical center such as the National Institutes of Health. Universities should design their programs so that they will encourage experimentation aimed to contribute to general knowledge in the fields related to development planning. (This approach was tested by the author in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Limited evaluation was presented in Raphael J. Salmon, "Action Through People in Michigan's Upper Peninsula," a Progress Report submitted to the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, (Marquette, Mich.: Northern Michigan University, April, 1964).) In line with our analogy, concentration on identification of causes of the common cold, (which still seems to defy easy solution), might be preferable to emphasis on treatment of pneumonia, which appears to respond quite well to injections of penicillin.

Constraints on University-Community Involvement

It is deceptively easy at times for university extension services to find themselves involved primarily in "one-shot" programs which may demonstrate university competence but essentially represent panaceas, rather than attempts to investigate basic causes and effects and their relationships. Political pitfalls are such that university involvement in community efforts may be diverted into promotional merchandizing of university and/or community administrative and scientific personnel and programs. Similarly, initiation of development programs should not lead to diversion of the university's primary task of educating students a major benefit to the community which often only the university can provide on its level. A very fine balance exists in the professional objectives and moral responsibility of the university and its role as an educational institution. Maintenance of this balance is sometimes complicated when pressures are brought to bear from within and outside the university structure. Demonstration programs initiated by universities should be aimed to develop models which may be assumed and adjusted as needed by appropriate community or regional leadership.

Just as universities must be alert to the dangers of simply marketing ready solutions, they also must be willing to assume certain tolerance in terms of being ready to experiment with approaches which cannot yet be fully supported by scientific evidence and analysis. The field of community-regional development is still in its infancy; consistent efforts are required to develop greater understanding and appropriate methodologies to approach effectively some of its most basic problems. In the face of pressing needs, however, policies and programs cannot always wait upon fruits and scientific investigation. If universities are to participate in the development process, then they must be prepared to venture opinions and experiment with programs involving critical issues, while freely admitting and pointing to limitations due to the basic nature of such approaches. Refusal to consider action until its validity can be verified may handicap the cyclical nature of the research-action interrelationship.

Planning to Meet the Need

Effective implementation and coordination of programs for university participation in development programs requires careful planning. Appropriate relationships will differ from one situation to another and must be assessed prior to program initiation. Consideration should be given to factors such as the nature of problems and issues, the characteristics of the university and of the geographic unit to be involved, the time sequence necessary to carry out programs, and the supporting resources available to optimize the role of the university relative to the development process. Analysis of such issues might be based upon prior investigation of past community-university relationships with specific assessment of approaches and techniques utilized and their effect on development.

Summary

In essence, then, we may visualize major challenges facing our developing areas today as:

1. Better and more realistic assessment of communities to be studied in order to assist them in identifying objectives and formulating specific projects and programs. At the same time, such assessment should enable identification of the barriers handicapping progress and effective development.
2. Advancement of frontiers of knowledge to make possible more valid projections of the problems confronting developing areas and of the consequences of alternative approaches to their solution. Needed also is identification of critical elements responsible for change with respect to the larger and smaller interdependent systems of which communities are a part. Evaluation should be made of the development process utilized and of its capacity to contribute to solution of identified problems. Proper feed-back mechanisms should be developed to encourage support of present and future programs by experience gained in past projects.
3. Development of data and other information necessary for effective management. Through utilization of techniques, such as systems analysis techniques which have the capacity to simultaneously evaluate numerous combinations of alternatives for management and development of specific resources essential to development, valuable tools may be provided to decision-makers.
4. Encouragement and support of a process of training and education to make technical know-how available when and where needed, stimulate cross-disciplinary training and involvement in the problems of development. Comprehensive university programs for education of community development professionals at undergraduate and graduate levels should be developed. Training also should assist in creation of strata of technicians and supporting personnel who can shoulder some of the responsibilities for work in this area. At the same time, public education efforts aimed at achievement of wide involvement and support by community members, should be undertaken. Citizenry should be assisted in learning from past mistakes and adjusting to new patterns of life, in an overall effort to provide a favorable setting for growth.

These challenges are an integral part of life in our technological era. This nation's centers for higher learning can lead the way in trading hindsight for foresight and isolated projects for comprehensive development programs. As President Johnson has pointed out:[5]

> Once 90 per cent of our population earned its living from the land. Today, 70 per cent of our people live in urban communities. They are confronted by problems of poverty, residential blight, polluted air and water, inadequate mass transportation, health services, strained human relations, and over-burdened municipal services. Our great universities have the skills and the knowledge to match these mountainous problems. The role of the university must extend far beyond the ordinary extension-type operation. Its research findings and talents must be made available to the community . . . This is a demanding assignment for the universities, and many are not ready for it.

Other countries, rich and poor alike, also could benefit greatly from university involvement. Initiation and expansion of efforts to encourage effective partnership in this critical area wait upon concerned and imaginative leadership.

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[5] President Lyndon B. Johnson, address at University of California, Irvine, California, June 2, 1964.

The Community Development Services at Southern Illinois University and Its Experiences in Training OEO Personnel

John B. Hawley*

Community Development Services at Southern Illinois University is a service and graduate training unit of the University. It is not a part of the University Extension Division, but works very closely with that Division.

Community Development Services is comprised of three major programs: (1) the Community Development Institute which has responsibility for the graduate program leading to a masters degree in Community Development; (2) the Training and Consultant Services; and (3) Community Studies which is a research unit. The Training and Consultant Services program is the oldest in years of service (thirteen years) and maintains the largest staff (ten to twelve consultants).

In January, 1966, Community Development Services received a request from the Shawnee Development Council (an OEO community action agency in five counties in southern Illinois) to train their forty field workers. This group consisted primarily of aides and subprofessionals. The training was conducted in February and was designed for a one-week duration.

The second request came from the St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission in East St. Louis. This request was to train 150 staff members of its six neighborhood centers who are top professionals to subprofessionals. The project is on-going to June 30, 1967.

Two other OEO agencies have also asked us to train neighborhood center workers. The Regional OEO Office in Chicago wants us to experiment with training of technical assistance staff for the OEO in the State of Illinois. Finally, we received a request recently to evaluate the St. Clair County EOC program. Thus, our operation at Southern Illinois differs slightly from the multi-purpose training centers in California in that we rely upon individual agency requests for training and are not designated as a multi-purpose training center.

This talk will discuss briefly some aspects of our OEO Training activities: i.e., training population characteristics and the program itself--content, methodology, schedule, location, design, process, evaluation, staffing, funding, cost, and problem areas.

The forty staff workers of the Shawnee Development Council were 75 per cent female and 60 per cent Negro; the educational level was from second through tenth grade; the age range was from seventeen to seventy-two years, and all were nonprofessional personnel.

In the East St. Louis project we are now training 162 people: 65 per cent are female, 85 per cent are Negro; the educational level for 70 per cent of the group is twelfth grade or less, and most participants are nonprofessionals. The bulk of the group might be called "village level workers" if you were to equate them to overseas community development training programs. All are employees of the St. Clair Economic Opportunity Commission.

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From our immediate training programs we have learned one important fact: professional personnel (administrative staff, directors of centers, lawyers, consultants in health, education, welfare, and the like) in OEO programs need to be exposed to some of the same training experience which is offered to the subprofessional personnel in their organizations. In this manner each level of the organization gains an appreciation for the materials and training presented at all levels and creates an esprit de corps and understanding not possible by training which is fragmented by organizational levels. This fact was well proven in our East St. Louis training project.

The first week's training in the East St. Louis project was given over to an orientation program dealing with such questions as: what is poverty?, what are its characteristics?, what are the socio-economic characteristics of the East St. Louis?, what are some aspects of your jobs and of the centers in which you work? We knew that this might be too high level content for all the subprofessionals. However, we were able to draw upon people who could help us present the material in a meaningful style to these people. We drew upon the local OEO staff members from St. Louis and Washington, D. C., and the National Training Laboratories in Washington, D. C. The latter supplied ten trainers and ten co-trainers. We drew upon all the resources we could find. I do not want to imply that money was no object, but all of these organizations and people were reasonable in their demands.

The second week intensive training was given to human relations laboratory experience after which the participants returned home and organized their neighborhood centers.

Following this we plan to have vocational programs and on-the-job training for these persons. This is in the planning stage now. The training will contain various levels of skill attainment, both individualized and group-oriented. The program is to be designed with the workers and while this complicates the task, the end result should be most useful.

The method essentially is that of providing a human relations laboratory at various points during the year. Current problems facing the workers are regularly evaluated and then the training works toward understanding and resolving these problems. We are working with audio-visual and communication media units of the University to develop interesting training aids.

An important aspect is the evaluation of the program. At present, we use the staff from the Educational Research Bureau to design an evaluation system, both theoretically and practically--to cover the whole year's program. We are excited about the progress of the model even though we cannot be sure of its success. It does, however, look good and offers some ways of measuring and evaluating the program. It is designed to test the before and after effects in each phase of the training process.

As to staffing the program, the consultants in our Training and Consultant Services unit have been the mainstay. In addition, we draw upon other units of the University. Their cooperation has been excellent. We have a coordinator for the entire project who is assisted by a curriculum coordinator, a fiscal officer, and several arrangements specialists. This is extremely important since the orientation week's program was held in East St. Louis and the laboratory experience in Carbondale, a hundred miles apart.

This is a fairly large project for us. The total summer budget is $63,000, of which the University will give a quarter portion under Title I. This fall, we expect the rest of the project will be funded under OEO, and that will cost about $100,000. We expect the cost to be about one thousand dollars per trainee for the year.

The one-week training laboratory for the Shawnee Development Council in February, the cost approximated about $10,000, including $7,500 paid by various departments of the University for donated staff time. As you can see this type of training is not cheap!

As to what we have learned, we realize, literally, that we are in culture shock. University staff members have not heretofore worked with our nation's poor. We must learn how to do so quickly. This is one reason for the culture shock we are experiencing.

The other point is that in human relations training we believe we must train all levels of the organization at the same time. We feel this is most important. We also feel that a human relations component should be in all training programs. We find that human relations training helps people to learn. We feel that in the sensitivity laboratories we have conducted so far, probably 60 per cent of the trainees were affected positively; however, we cannot be certain about this. Finally, we have learned that we need to train trainers--to increase the training resources in human relations. This is why we use in every sensitivity laboratory a trainer and co-trainer.

The most striking problem we face is the complexity of the trainee or client group. There are multi-levels of the organization itself--that is the regional and state staff, the district staff, and the neighborhood or CAP unit staff. Add to this our own unit's staff, the state Title I committee, various other university coordinators, and staff from assisting departments, and you have a complex state of affairs. This calls for new relationships, new channels of communications, and a complete interchange of ideas, criticisms, and evaluation.

Another problem is in the area of logistics. The proper selection and, in some cases, the proper training of people who work in the cafeteria line or work in the housing areas is vitally important. We had some cases of racial discrimination because we failed to anticipate these problems and orientate staff to handle them.

Still other problems include budgeting, university and agency accounting, procurement of outside resources, and the problem of the various bureaucracies working together in such a large cooperative affair; the problems are numerous, but not insurmountable. It is indeed an experimental adult education program of great complexity. We are enjoying it and learning much from it.

The OEO and the University

Lawrence L. Suhm*

It is not my purpose to complain that they (in the OEO) do not understand us and our problems of gearing up for the war on poverty. After all, that is not their main concern. Moreover, we sometimes do not understand ourselves in terms of our role and our capabilities in this war. Consequently, the messages we communicate are often not very clear.

One thing that is quite clear, however, is that the universities have yet to prove their ability to solve effectively the problems of research, training, and public service in this new kind of war. Other kinds of public and private agencies, institutions, and organizations have been called upon or are being established to carry out some of these functions because of some of our failures and inadequacies in rising to the challenge.

If those of us in the universities involved in the war on poverty are to prove our value in this endeavor we will first have to admit to three harsh truths about our institutions and then make some necessary drastic changes.

The first truth is that universities, with rare exceptions, have been set up for and organized to serve the needs of the upper and middle class interests of our society. Precious few even have programs and services for blue collar workers and their families or for rural nonfarm groups or for farm labor. As a result, we have almost no channels of communication with the rural or urban poor in America. Few of our faculty and research personnel have any first-hand experience with urban or rural poverty and fewer still know what to do about it when they see it.

The second truth is that our problem-solving competencies in the universities are strongly oriented toward symptoms rather than causes of poverty. We deal with hunger, disease, crime, unemployment, discrimination and family breakdown in terms of easily visible symptoms rather than attempting to deal with the basic causes and cures.

The third truth is that few universities had any serious commitment to fighting poverty prior to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Most of them became involved only because of or due to the federal aid made available and few of them would continue their programs with their own resources if the federal aid were to be terminated.

With these basic generalizations I will now make some observations about our experience with one aspect of the war on poverty at The University of Wisconsin. Hopefully, my remarks will show similarities between problems and difficulties encountered at the institutions you people represent.

The project I was, and am, associated with as program director is the Community Action Program Technicians Training Center for Depressed Rural Areas. Our project, which has just been re-funded for a year, is designed to train community leaders from depressed rural areas throughout the nation for administrative positions in CAA's in rural areas.

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*Director, CAP Technicians Training Center, University of Wisconsin

This project was developed by one of the major farm organizations with the help of the OEO and brought to Wisconsin last year. It was designed to alleviate the serious shortage of rural leadership trained to administer OEO projects in depressed rural areas.

Wisconsin was chosen for the pilot project because of its long tradition of and experience with providing university services to all the people of the state and because it had strong programs and staff and field resources in both agricultural and general extension. As you know, these are now in the process of merging into one integrated extension service.

I would now like to direct your attention to several of the key elements in our training program which were significant in providing whatever measure of success we had or in giving us painful and sometimes embarrassing difficulties or failures.

Organization and Administration

Of primary importance in a training program is the question of "who's in charge." Nothing can be done until this is determined and, with a brand new program, you cannot always anticipate all the decisions that will have to be made about control. Furthermore, the form, the nature, and the biases of the controlling agencies and individuals directly affects every facet of the training program.

We first had to determine the broad questions whether and how much control would be exercised by the farm organization that sponsored the project, by the OEO in Washington, and by the University of Wisconsin. Our initial failure to completely clarify areas of control and responsibility very nearly destroyed the project. On the other hand, too much rigidity and detailed allocation of responsibility can just as easily lead to failure, especially in a pilot program.

Similar pitfalls are related to internal organization within the university. In many respects OEO type programs are unique in terms of organizational and administrative requirements. The question of who controls poverty programs within the university becomes extremely important when you take into account the economic, social, political, and philosophical viewpoints on the subject. Should social workers control it, or economists, or political scientists, or community developers, or sociologists, or administrators? The decision will inevitably affect the program.

At Wisconson the rural CAP training program was placed under general extension in the Institute for Governmental Affairs, a branch of our Political Science Department. You can imagine how that went over with our agricultural extension colleagues. We did, however, involve college of agriculture staff as instructors, consultants and advisory committee members and thus avoided some serious internal conflicts. Interestingly, during our period of field training in rural Wisconsin counties we found county agents to be our best allies and our worst enemies, proving to us at least that any generalities about the dedication of county agents to the rural war on poverty are almost useless. Some of them in counties with as many as 38 per cent of the families classified as poor vehemently denied the existence of poverty in their areas and refused to cooperate, while others welcomed and assisted our efforts to a maximum degree.

I should mention too that we have a national advisory committee representing labor, education, farm organizations, religious groups, minority groups and academic and other interests. The trainees also nominated two of their own group to serve on the committee. Though it serves strictly in an advisory capacity and does not make policies for the program, it has been an extremely active and useful adjunct to our program in terms of keeping us in touch with the needs, concerns, and resources in rural America.

Curriculum Development

The real core of any training program is, of course, its curriculum. Anyone who has had experience in developing a broad training program for community action personnel is aware that we simply do not have all the answers yet as to what subjects should be taught and how they should be taught. If there is a curriculum development specialist in the audience right now who knows how to develop curricula for training poverty warriors we have a position for him at Wisconsin with a handsome salary.

If we had four years time, or even two years in a university program to train community action technicians we could do the job with little difficulty. But how do you pull a man or woman out of their regular job or better yet, find an unemployed person and, in eleven weeks of classroom and field training, convert him into an effective community action coordinator?

The answer, of course, is that you do not start with a tabula rasa. What you do is to find people who already are active and effective community leaders--whether employed or not, and then you bring them in, give them additional knowledge, some new skills, some supervised experience, and build up their self-confidence.

In our Wisconsin rural CAP training program we had trainees with an eighth grade education and with masters degrees and beyond; we had a twenty-one year old and a sixty-five year old; and we had farmers, lawyers, merchants, teachers, laborers, and unemployed.

The curriculum for this assortment of rural leaders from twenty-three states was a mixture of information, basic principles, new skills, and practical experiences, with heavy emphasis upon the latter. Our training schedule combined periods of classroom instruction with supervised field experience; two weeks in class, a week in the field, two more weeks in class, four weeks in the field, and a final two weeks in class before we sent them out to fend for themselves. The pattern worked so we are continuing it.

In the classroom we taught communications skills, leadership techniques, creative problem solving, community power structure, human relations and human behavior, community survey techniques and we went through CAP guides I and II page by page, paragraph by paragraph. We drilled the trainees in proposal development, proposal writing, budget development, and office management. And we brought in as many outside experts as we could to familiarize our trainees with the tremendous variety of federal programs that can be used in the war on poverty.

The results were gratifying. Our internal evaluation showed significant increases in knowledge and skills on the part of our trainees. Those who were community leaders when they came to us went out to become more effective community leaders and, in addition, became significantly involved in rural OEO program administrative positions. Those who lacked certain leadership qualities when they came to us did not obtain leadership positions upon graduation and have not gotten OEO related jobs. Over two-thirds of our forty-four graduates had been placed within weeks after their training ended. The remainder have either gone back to previous jobs and have not found positions in spite of vigorous efforts by the University and by the OEO and other organizations to place them.

Out of our experience we have learned that there are basically two kinds of leaders who came to our training program. We were successful with one group and we largely failed with the other. The kind we had success with was the organizational leader. The kind we failed with was the communicational leader.

The former is the kind of leader who can go into a community, identify its needs and resources, become accepted by and work with the power structure or create a new one, and organize the resources and leadership for effective action.

The communicational leader is the one who knows and understands the needs of his group, is accepted and trusted by them, and is able to obtain their active support and to speak on their behalf. This kind of leader did not, in our experience, seem to be able to obtain the support, backing or cooperation from the power structure or to obtain outside resources either to get himself into an effective job or to obtain assistance for his own group of followers.

While we recognized the importance of both kinds of groups, our training program best served the needs of the organizational leader. We concluded that the best arrangement would be to have both the organizer and the communicator employed on the community action team and that our rural CAP training program would have to have two tracks to serve the special needs of these two kinds of leaders.

Staffing

One of the interesting things we discovered in hiring for the training program is that the salaries are generally high enough to attract a large number of local candidates. We used up a great deal of time checking resumes and interviewing, because we had used local and state sources to recruit. On the other hand, some of the people we really did want could not be induced to leave their present jobs because of the shortness of the contracts we had to offer. After these experiences, I had the feeling that we were attracting only the desperate who could not hold a job elsewhere or the very well-to-do who did not really need a job.

The biggest problem, of course, in staffing is finding qualified people with a feel for and an understanding of the problems of poverty. The hard-nosed cynic who believes that all poor people are lazy, shiftless, drags on society is not better than the soft-headed idealist who believes that kindness, sympathy, and generosity will solve the problems of poverty.

Few indeed are the knowledgeable and skilled pragmatists who have first-hand experience in communicating with the poor and who know what to do about helping them break out of the cycle of poverty.

Trainee Recruitment

The real key to success in OEO training programs is the quality of the trainees who can be recruited for the program. The worst training program can be made to look good if you start out with good trainees who are motivated and who are already skilled community action leaders. The best training program will look like a failure if the trainees are inadequately motivated to learn.

Recruitment, then, is of vital importance to the program. It is essential that the function be controlled by the person who is responsible for the program and for curriculum development. It seems absurd to try to set up the curriculum for a training program without knowing anything about the needs, interests, and objectives of the trainees. Yet, the short lead time provided in many OEO training contracts forces this situation.

The first day of our CAP training program I went up and introduced myself to one of the trainees, and then asked him what he expected from the program. He said, "I don't even know what I'm doing here." The haste to get the right number of bodies present for the program brought people who were not only wasting their own time, but generally disrupted the program because of their lack of interest.

Placement of Trainees

One thing we learned from our efforts to place our graduates in suitable positions is that technical knowledge and demonstrated leadership ability are not enough to assure a job in community action. A great number of the good jobs are being taken by local political hacks with little, if any, competence.

Even when we went to the regional OEO's for aid in placing our people, they told us they could only push so far, and then the local people started pushing back with charges of federal interference.

When our trainees attempted to employ political pressures to get themselves jobs, they were quickly slapped down by the pros.

One of the great weaknesses of the universities in the war on poverty is that, for the most part they do not have much political power, and secondly, they do not understand the game of politics as it is played out on the firing lines. This is something they are going to have to learn quickly if they are going to play a front line position in the war on poverty or any other significant social movements. We are so frightened of the people who really know how to use power effectively that we seldom let them get near the university where they might use it as a base of operations. If we cannot hire them, then we ought to at least bring them in to talk to our faculty or lecture to our students about political action and the uses of power.

Evaluation

There is a basic conflict between what the universities mean by evaluation and what the OEO means by the term. When the universities use the term, they usually mean a lot of statistical gobbledygook that not even the training staff personnel can understand, much less use. When the OEO uses the term, they usually mean a PR snow job that will result in favorable press releases and a simple, but impressive list of accomplishments that they can take before congressional committees to justify OEO expenditures.

This seems to be one of those kinds of problems where academic training and practices is out of tune with the realities of political expediency, and the solution will come from experience, I am sure. Meanwhile, the universities will have to fumble around for ways to do meaningful evaluations of the results of their training efforts on the limited evaluation budgets provided by the OEO.

Conclusion

If the universities are to do an effective job in training front-line troops for the war on poverty, they are going to have to display much more creativity and flexibility than they have in the past. They must be willing to find and accept both students and teaching staff who have proven their worth and their effectiveness in other than the traditional academic channels. Many of the most effective poverty warriors have been too busy solving problems and have not had time to accumulate degrees and credits.

New techniques will have to be formulated and tested for reaching the poor, for identifying the underlying causes of poverty and for finding solutions which are compatible with our existing values, traditions, and institutions. We have the courage to be able to fail and to try, and perhaps, fail again in our search for viable solutions and methods.

Extension services have a special role and obligation, because they are not so rigidly tied to academic disciplines. In the war on poverty, Extension must lead the way in the area of social innovation and social action. The war on poverty cannot wait for the academic disciplines to accept and integrate into the curriculum the subject matter we need to train the leaders and technicians in this new kind of war.

Finally, if we in the University Extension are unable or unwilling to demand and fight for our share of power and financial support within the academic community so as to enable us to carry out effectively our role in the war on poverty, then there is little hope of our being able to help the poor in their much more difficult struggle for recognition and support within the larger society.

The universities and their extension arms are being given an opportunity to demonstrate to the nation and to the world that they can be effective in this historic struggle to conquer poverty in America. History will record whether or not we proved equal to the task.